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ART. I.—*An Historical, Political, and Statistical Account of Ceylon and its Dependencies.* By CHARLES PRIDHAM, Esq., B.A., F.R.G.S., Author of "History of Mauritius," &c. London: T. and W. Boone, New Bond Street, 1849.

AS far as the political world is concerned, this may be regarded as a most timely publication, affording to statesmen a full and accurate account of the past condition and the present situation of a colony, which, within the last twelve months, has seen an insurrection of its natives suppressed in the blood of the leaders of the revolt. In our estimation, no such sad event was required to confer an additional interest upon the island of Ceylon—the land of romance to every geographer, the Taprobana of the ancients, the place of wonders not less to those who lived in the days of Alexander and of Claudius, than of Queen Victoria; the country of huge elephants, of poisonous snakes, of sweet cinnamon, of the talaipat-tree, one leaf of which will suffice for a soldier's tent; of a soil that teems with every rich species of luxurious food, and that glitters with precious gems; the land of strange traditions, and, if possible, of still more strange realities; for even to this day its woods are filled with wild men—the Yakkas, Vedas, Vedras, or Bedras—who dwell in trees, who know no laws, acknowledge no chief, and who, if they have any form of faith at all, are mere devil-worshippers!

Let the reader take up any account that he may chance to meet with of the ancient Taprobana, or the modern

Ceylon—from Diodorus Siculus to the last edition of Brookes's 'Gazetteer'—and in the warm description of its wonders by the one, and the frigid narration of its natural productions in the other, he will find sufficient to excite his attention and arouse his curiosity to learn more respecting that marvellous portion of the habitable globe. We can assure the reader that, however high may be such expectations, Mr. Pridham's book will not disappoint them, and that the most full and accurate information will be found in his pages on every point *but one*; and that one, if we have sufficient space for it, we shall advert to before concluding this article.

It was said by Mr. Moore, to the great disparagement of the Bermudas, that "they had no history." The very opposite of this is to be affirmed of Ceylon. It has not merely a modern history, but an ancient history, and that ancient history filled with traditions that seem to throw a new light even upon the dark and obscure legends which have descended to us in the rhymes and sagas of the northern Scalds.*

Before advertising to the ancient and romantic history of Ceylon, we may as well however state that, independent of the reasons alleged by Mr. Pridham and by M. Martnier for identifying Taprobana and Ceylon as the same island, we feel confident that they are so from the assertion of Dionysius, who, whilst alluding to the claims of other places to the name of Taprobana, says:

Κείλοινην αν ιδοις νησον, την φημις ενισπει
Ταπροβανην κληζεσθαι επι προτερων ανθρωπων.†

Of this distant island in the Indian ocean, there are wondrous accounts to be found in the old geographers. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Singhalese‡ had bones as

* "If the events be compared, and Buddhist miracles are excluded from Cingalese history, we shall find records of accurate detail and great antiquity, commencing with Vjeya and the invasion of the Singha race. B. C. 543, and terminating in A. D. 1815, with Wikreme Singha, the last and worst of a faded dynasty and fallen nation."—Forbes's 'Ceylon,' vol. i. p. 69.

† Dionys. Geog. c. 33, v. 1262, 1263.

‡ For the sake of uniformity we follow Mr. Pridham's mode of spelling the name of the inhabitants, instead of the more usual manner, "Cingalese."

flexible as nerves; they had holes in their ears with little tongues growing out of them; they were naturally double-tongued, and they improved that advantage to such an extent, that the tongue seemed to be divided down to the very root, so that they could imitate the chattering of birds, and what was still more surprising, carry on a conversation with two persons at the same time! They knew astrology; they had an alphabet composed of twenty-eight letters, and seven characters, every one of which could be formed in four different ways; they did not write across a sheet, but in a straight line from the top to the bottom. The ties of family were unknown amongst them, as men and women cohabited promiscuously together, and reared their children in common, and they often lived to the age of 150 years, and if a person survived beyond the allotted period, he was bound to poison himself! &c., &c.* Solinus, as well as Pliny, describes the Singhalese in nearly the same terms, and from the latter of these authorities we shall make but a single extract, as it relates to the ancient government of Ceylon:

"The king is elected by the people on account of his age, his clemency, and his not having any children. If he should have a child after his being elevated to the throne, he must abdicate, lest the crown should become hereditary. Thirty judges are given to him by the people, and no one can be condemned to death but by the sentence of the majority."†

There is scarcely a country in the world that has marvellous traditions connected with its ancient history, for which something coincident may not be found in the ancient history of Ceylon. It has, of course, strange gods and great heroes; but what is still more curious, it has a "siege of Troy," and at that siege its tradition affirms, that the game of chess was first invented! This siege is

* See Pridham, vol. ii. pp. 777, 778, 779. The author remarks respecting the account given in Diodorus Siculus: "Bating the tincture of fable and the love of the marvellous pervading it, the narrative appears remarkably coincident with the account of Knox some 2000 years later."

† "Eligi regem a populo senectæ clementiaque, liberos non habentem: et si postea gignat, abdicari, ne fiat hæreditarium regnum. Rectores ei a populo xxx dari: nec nisi plurimum sententia quæquam capitis damnari."—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 22.

the subject of a poem, which Mr. Pridham, in defiance of the established antiquity of the verses of Homer, maintains as being "probably the oldest epic in the world." In this poem "Rama" is the Menelaus, his wife "Seeta" the Helen, and "Rawana" the Paris. It describes Rama upon discovering the place of his wife's concealment—the wilds of the island of Ceylon—proceeding thither with a large army, besieging for twelve years the Ceylonese Ilium, Sri Lanka-poorā, and eventually putting the ravisher to death; then returning to his native land with his beauteous wife, where he was received as a hero, and subsequently deified. The date of these events is fixed by the Singhalese annals at 2387 B. C., and by Sir W. Jones about 1810 B. C., "or a few centuries after the flood!" In some particulars the rape of Seeta resembles that of Proserpine; and in others its traits remind one of the false image of Juno presented to Ixion, for it is said of the place called Seetawaka, that it was formerly designated Seetawadé, and "is said to have obtained that name from its being the spot, according to Hindoo tradition, where Indragit caused a figure resembling the captive Seeta to have been beheaded, in order that Rama, abandoning all hopes of recovering his consort, might abandon the war he was then waging against Rawana for her recovery." (vol. i. p. 23.) The honour of Seeta was vindicated by her own oath at a place which is still pointed out in the island.

The value of the poem, which is supposed to describe the wars between the advocates of the principles of the Buddhas and the adherents of the Bali (planetary) and Yakka, or Rakshase superstitions, may be surmised from the following extract, which preaches what may be regarded as the pure principles of the Epicureans. These are the words of consolation addressed by the Buddhist hero Rama to his brother upon the death of their father, the venerable King Dasha Ratha:

"All compounded substances hasten to decay; all that are elevated must fall; all things compacted will be dissolved; and all who live must finally die: as there is no other fear respecting ripe fruits besides their falling, so is death the grand thing feared by all who are born. As a large and firm edifice when become old falls into ruins, so the aged subject to death sink into dissolution. The night once past never returns; the waters of Yamooṇa run to the sea; days and nights are passing away; the time of life appointed for all living is constantly wasting, as the rays of the sun in the

summer dry up the moisture of the earth. Grieve for thyself! why shouldst thou grieve for others? What has that man to do with what continues, or with what passes away, whose life is every moment departing? Death always accompanies us; death stays with us; after having travelled to the greatest distance, death ends our course; wrinkles are already in the body; gray hairs cover the head; decrepitude seizes on man, why should man be anxious for future enjoyments? Men rejoice when the sun is risen; they rejoice also when it goeth down, while they are unconscious of the decay of their own lives. They rejoice on seeing the face of a new season, as at the arrival of one greatly desired; yet the revolution of seasons is the decay of human life; as pieces of drift wood, meeting in the ocean, continue together a little space; thus wives, children, relatives, and wealth remain with us a short time, separate, and their separation is certain: no one living can escape the common lot; he who mourns his departed relatives, has no power to cause them to return. One standing on the road would readily say to a number of persons passing together: I will follow you; why then should a person grieve when travelling the inevitable road, which has been assuredly trodden by all his predecessors? Viewing the end of life, which resembles a cataract rushing down with irresistible impetuosity, every mind ought to pursue that which is connected with its own happiness, even virtue."—vol. i. p. 24.*

The traditions that cling around the incidents described in the ancient poem of "*Rama and Rawana*" have, however, a strange interest to all who know anything of the old-world history of Ireland; for in the punishment that befel Rawana, and in the judgment that overtook his adherents, the Rakshases, we recognize the sad doom that overwhelmed that wicked Irish city, which is now buried (by tradition) beneath the waters of Lough Neagh.

"The doom," says Mr. Pridham, "extended to their (the Rakshases') country, whose fairest provinces sunk beneath the ocean, while the waves of oblivion closed for ever over the beauty and wealth of Lanka-poorā. Its name, however, survives as the meridian point

* In another composition, the *Mahawanso*, it is observed, that "if man would but reflect on the irresistible, relentless, and all-powerful nature of death, in the place of desiring an immortality he cannot attain, he would, by reflecting on the shortness of his space, be led into a virtuous line of life, and virtue, in her turn supporting him, would obtain for him the only practicable eternity."—vol. i. p. 36.

of Indian astronomy ; and in legends of Ceylon, and the continent of India, it is maintained that the splendour of Lanka's brazen battlements, still gleam from the depth of the ocean, illumining the sky at close of day, and before night has put on darkness."—vol. i. pp. 25, 26.

Who can read these words, and not be reminded of those used by Giraldus ?

"Hujus autem eventus argumentum est non improbabile, quod piscatores aquæ illius *turres ecclesiasticas*, quæ more *patriæ arctæ* sunt et *altæ*, nec non et *rotundæ*, sub undis manifeste sereno tempore conspiciunt, et extraneis transeuntibus, reique causas admirantibus frequenter ostendunt."

In our estimation nothing can be more strange than to find nations most distant from each other in position, and the most opposed to each other in condition, in manners, in habits, in morals, and in their mode of obtaining subsistence, still cherishing traditions that are in direct opposition to the common sense and feeling of mankind. And yet a slight examination into the sagas of the icy north and the myths of the fervid India, will prove to us that both preserve as truths, statements that, if we pry too closely into them, will be found revolting to human nature itself.

For instance, Mr. Pridham tells us (vol. ii. p. 780) that there is an early mythus of the Singha family, which is "to the last degree absurd, yet as it is gravely recorded in all the native histories, and implicitly believed by the natives," cannot be with propriety excluded from the

* *Topog. Hibern.* lib. ii. c. 9, p. 720, (Camden.) We cannot avoid remarking, that if more attention had been paid by our Irish antiquaries to the words italicised in this extract, it would not have been requisite for Mr. Petrie to have published his learned work to prove the ecclesiastical purposes for which "the round towers" were originally constructed. The words of Moore upon this tradition have won for it a popularity it might otherwise have never obtained.

"On Lough Neagh's bank, as the fisherman strays,
When the clear cold eve's declining,
He sees the round towers of other days,
In the wave beneath him shining."

Irish Melodies, No. 2.

pages of the historian; a principle in the justice of which we perfectly agree with him, and the non-observance of which has hitherto deprived the English readers of English history of the knowledge of many interesting statements.

The mythus to which Mr. Pridham here refers, is to the effect that a Rajah of Kalingoo had married his daughter to the Rajah of Waggo, and the issue of this marriage was a most beautiful maiden, who, it was foretold by the astrologers, would be married to a lion. The destiny of the maiden was fulfilled. She became the mother of two children, a son and a daughter; and her son, when he grew up to be a man, learning the facts from her, carried her and his sister away from his father's cave, and safely lodged them in a city governed by a cousin of his mother's. The lion, on discovering the loss of his wife and his children, abandoned his cave, and approached the city, devouring some people as he advanced. The king then offered as a reward to the slayer of the lion an allotment of territory, and the lion's son undertook the task. Armed with his bow and arrows, he approached the cave where the lion was concealed, and although the lion knew the object for which he called him, still the animal could not refrain from coming forth to meet his son. Three arrows were discharged in vain by the son, and the lion was on the point of destroying his offspring, when a fourth arrow penetrated the brain. "In his last agony," says Mr. Pridham, "he forgot the parricide in the son, and calling him tenderly, laid his head on his lap, and, making affectionate mention of his wife and daughter, expired!" Such is the myth that finds implicit belief in Ceylon; and yet, how like is it to the Norwegian saga of Bera and Biorn so gravely told by Torfæus, and which saga is undoubtedly the foundation of our own nursery tale of "Beauty and the Beast."

According to Torfæus, the maiden Bera was the daughter of a wealthy bonder, who had, like other respectable persons in his country, acquired a property by being a pirate in the days of his youth: "*fuit villicus — qui dives opum, piraticâ juvenilibus annis partarum.*" This Bera being in the habit of playing with the king's son, Biorn, when they were both children, they fell in love with each other. Biorn had, however, the misfortune of

attracting the attention of his stepmother, who acted towards him like a Phædra, but he scornfully rejected her with all the virtue of a Hippolytus, and with all the vigour of a northern Viking, as he not only knocked her down, but kicked her out of the house! "*alapâ interrūpit, stratamque solo foras repulit.*" For this maltreatment of her personal dignity, the queen, who was a witch, changed Biorn into a bear—a form which he was thenceforth destined to assume for ever after at night, "*noctu vero ursi formam, vi dirarum plusquam nefandarum assumeret.*" Biorn betook himself to the woods, where it must be admitted he conducted himself in a most bear-like manner, slaughtering in a very ferocious way the king's cattle, and thus exciting against himself the resentment of his own father. Bera, however, with a woman's true love, followed him to the woods, and there lived with him in a cave until poor Biorn, as he had predicted, was hunted to death, and slain by the hunters in presence of the king his sire. Bera had three children: the first, Elgfrodus, half man and half beast; the second, Thorer, a person of perfect form with the exception of his feet, which were like a dog's, and he was therefore called *hunds-fotr*; and the third, Bodvar, who was completely a man in appearance, and a most heroic Viking in ferocity, for he avenged his father's death and his mother's wrongs by catching the king's wife, Biorn's wicked stepmother, when she was asleep, tying her up in a leathern bag, and dragging her about the streets until he was perfectly certain that he had knocked her brains out, "*confestim ad reginam, inque cubile illius properavit, securæ et inopinanti saccum pelliceum induit, extractamque per plateas, verberibusque cæsam saxis illisit.*"*

As the Indian myth makes the progenitor of the Singha race a lion, so Torfæus declares that the bear's son, Thorer, with the hound's paw, was king of the Goths, in the same manner that Erizzo, the Italian novelist, affirms on the authority of an old tradition, that Attila the Hunnish king, the notorious "*flagellum Dei*," was the son of a dog! This, however, is a point on which we purposely abstain from employing all the illustrations that

* Torfæus, Hist. Norveg. lib. vi. sect. 2, c. 2-6, vol. i. pp. 275-281.

might be brought to bear upon it. It is one upon which we would not have touched at all, if it did not force itself upon the attention by the curious coincidence it presents in strange fancies between people so far removed from each other as the inhabitants of Norway and of Ceylon.

The similarity between the traditions of the Northmen and of the Singhalese does not terminate here. Mihindo, the priest and propagator of Buddhism, is described as having many of the gifts of Odin :

"The chroniclists of Buddhism are not satisfied with ascribing to Mihindo the ordinary accomplishments of the priestly office, but hesitate not to assert that he had the power of working miracles, such as flying through the air, an intuitive knowledge of places where Buddha had rested his foot, making the earth quake," &c.—vol. i. p. 31.

What was the character of Odin amongst the Northmen ?

"He was the founder of a new religion ; and he persuaded his followers he could run over the world in the twinkling of an eye, that he had the direction of the air and the tempests, that he could transform himself into all sorts of shapes, could raise the dead, could foretell things to come, could by enchantments deprive his enemies of health and vigour, and discover all the treasures concealed in the earth. The same authors [the Icelandic chroniclers] add, that he also knew how to sing airs so tender and melodious, that the very plains and mountains would open and expand with delight : and that the ghosts, attracted by the sweetness of his songs, would leave their infernal caverns, and stand motionless about him."*

As Odin was said to be the inventor of Runic characters, (Mallet, p. 83, and *Inglinga Saga*, c. 7.) so Mihindo is stated to have brought the alphabet to Ceylon. It is but rarely that a person has the opportunity of describing the first appearance of a prophet in a country, and that made by Mihindo is amongst the most curious we have ever met with. Mr. Pridham says he will offer no apology for inserting it in his history, as it is related in the native chronicles ; and neither shall we.

"A Rahatoon (a priest of Buddha of extraordinary sanctity and

* Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, pp. 83, 84, (Blackwell's Edition.)

powers), called Mihindoo-maha, with the title of Maha-Tirinanxy, having been commissioned by Dharmasoka, king of Maddadisay, a country to the eastward of Ceylon, to visit the island, and convert its inhabitants to the true faith, passed through the air, and alighted on a rock near Anuradhapoor, at the moment the king was passing, returning from hunting. *His appearance in yellow robes, his head and eyebrows shorn, puzzled the party not a little, and made them doubt whether he was a man or a demon.* He apprised the king of his commission, and to sound the depth of his majesty's understanding, and ascertain if he were qualified to comprehend the discourse he meditated, he put to him a few interrogatories :

" *Rahatoon.* Have you any relations ?

" *The King.* Many,

" *Rahatoon.* Have you people who are not your relations ?

" *The King.* Yes,

" *Rahatoon.* And besides your relations, and those who are not related to you, are there any else in your kingdom ?

" *The King.* Only myself.

" Satisfied, by the manner in which these and other questions were answered, that the monarch was by no means deficient in intelligence, the Rahatoon addressed him on the subject of religion, and preached on the beauty and propriety of the actions of Buddha, till he converted him and all his people. A branch of the identical tree under which Sidharte became Buddha, 'was planted at Anuradhapoor in a bed eighty-six cubits high ; where it took root contrary to the nature of the tree, which can be propagated only by seed, and it has lived ever since in perpetual vigour, neither growing, nor decaying.'—vol. i. pp. 31, 32.

The Mihindo, it appears, had a sister, of whom some very wonderful things are stated, and who, as she made women priestesses of the Buddhist faith in Ceylon, may be compared to the "Niord's daughter Freya, the priestess of the sacrifices, who first taught the Asaland people the magic art, as it was in use and fashion among the Vanaland people."*

A comparison between the Ceylon priestess and the Northern Freya will, we trust, be deemed worthy of perusal.

"Unwilling to be surpassed in religious enthusiasm by the other sex, the females [of Ceylon, it is stated by Mr. Pridham in describing the mission of Mihindo] collected in crowds to hear the divine message, and being informed of the establishment of cere-

* The Inglinga Saga, c. 4.

monies, and the ordination of priests, they, led by the king's sister-in-law, demanded to be made priestesses of the Buddhist faith. Professing his inability to accede to their request, Mihindo nevertheless told them that he had a sister named Sangamitta, resident at the capital of his native country, who was a celebrated priestess, and whom they might induce to come by sending an embassy for that purpose. Azitto, the minister of Tissa, again therefore embarked for Dambadiva, and communicated his object to the royal priestess. The king, already regretting the absence of Mihindo, on learning the message of the envoy, endeavoured to dissuade her from her enterprise. 'Honoured priestess and daughter,' said he, 'bereft of thee, and separated from my children and grandchildren, what consolation will be left me where-with to alleviate my profound affliction?' The devotion of Sangamitta to her aged father was greatly outdone by that to her religion, and she urgently pressed upon him the necessity of complying with the entreaties of her brother, pointing out the good that might thereby ensue, and the injury that might result to their religion by her remaining at home. Thus urged, the king reluctantly consented to the departure of his daughter, and she, taking with her a branch of the sacred Bo-tree, dedicated to Gantama, set sail for Ceylon. This branch which accompanied her was a gift of transcendent importance, and was therefore placed alone in a highly-wrought vessel, while innumerable prodigies bore witness to the divine protection. The vessel in which it was carried glided briskly on the surface of the water through this protecting agency; for nearly twenty miles on every side the sea was unruffled, while flowers of every kind were scattered on its path, and seraphic strains of melody impelled the sacred vessel on its course.* Thus, according to the Buddhists, was the removal of a branch of the tree sacred to their deity effected. Its arrival in Ceylon was attended with no less honour, and an agency no less superhuman. From the sea-shore to Anuradhapoora it was conveyed by a dense multitude, and planted on the spot where the sacred trees of former Buddhas had stood, with all the pomp and circumstance Tissa could display.

"The ceremonies and offerings being terminated, Sangamitta engaged herself in ordaining and converting with great zeal and success. The queen, along with other fervent women, became candidates for the priesthood. Religious houses were established, Dagobahs and Wihares multiplied; rock temples and cells of priests were scattered over the whole island; the right jawbone of

* The classical reader will find a strong similarity in this description with that given by Moschus of the passage through the sea of Europa, when borne away by Jupiter. See *Εὐρώπη*, v. 113-120.

Buddha was obtained from Sackrayaa himself, and a cap-full of other relics from Dharmasoka ; and every effort was made to consolidate in the strongest manner the Buddhist religion in Ceylon. Planted in this manner by the united exertions of Mihindo and his sister, Buddhism flourished luxuriantly ; and Sangamitta, satisfied with her labours, retired to the exercise of her religious duties in seclusion."—vol. i. pp. 32, 33.

Compared with Sangamitta, the northern Freya, the priestess and teacher of a strange people, does not at all appear a very amiable or a very dignified character, even though she be deified in the two accounts given of her in the Prose Edda.

"Njörd," sayeth the Prose Edda, "had afterwards at his residence at Noatun, two children, a son named Frey, and a daughter called Freyja, both of them beauteous and mighty. Frey is one of the most celebrated of the gods. He presides over rain and sunshine, and all the fruits of the earth, and should be invoked to obtain good harvests, and also for peace. He, moreover, dispenses wealth among men. Freyja is most propitious of the goddesses ; her abode in heaven is called Fólkváng. To whatever field of battle she rides, she asserts her right to one-half of the slain ; the other half belonging to Odin. As it is said :

"'Fólkváng 'tis called
Where Freyja hath right
To dispose of the hall seats.
Every day of the slain
She chooseth the half,
And half leaves to Odin.'

"Her mansion, called Sessrúnnir, is large and magnificent ; thence she sallies forth in a car *drawn by two cats*. She lends a very favourable ear to those who sue to her for assistance. It is from her name that women of birth and fortune are called in our language Freyjor. She is very fond of love ditties, and lovers would do well to invoke her."—§ 24.

"Freyja is ranked next to Frigga ; she is wedded to a person called Odur, and their daughter, named Hnossa, is so very handsome, that whatever is beautiful or precious is called by her name (hnosir.) But Odur left his wife in order to travel into remote countries. Since that time Freyja continually weeps, and her tears are drops of pure gold. She has a great variety of names ; for having gone over many countries in search of her husband, each people gave her a different name. She is thus called Mar-

döll, Horn, Gefu, and Syr, and also Vanadis. She possesses the necklace Brising."—§ 35.*

To whatever portion of the earth our glance may be directed—whether it be to the island of perpetual gloom like Iceland, or the island of everlasting verdure, richness, and beauty, like Ceylon—wherever we can discover the people to have veritable ancient traditions, we shall always find in the midst of their similitudes, and even of their contrasts, that they had at one time diffused amongst their inhabitants a knowledge of the truth, and that the more ancient their traditions, the closer impress do they bear of such truth; whilst as the traditions become darkened by human fears, and stained by human passions, the further have they departed from the primeval teaching of the Divinity, until at last the knowledge of the Godhead, and even of the Trinity, that can be traced in the Prose Edda, is lost in Pantheism; as the knowledge of the Incarnation of God—a Saviour of mankind, which is plainly declared in Buddhism, is overcast at last in idolatry, and superseded by devil-worshippings, as in Ceylon.

"He who sitteth on the lowest throne is a king," says the Prose Edda, "his name is Har (the High or Lofty One); the second is Jafuhar (i. e. equal to the High); but he who sitteth on the highest throne is called Thrídi (the third.)"—§ 2.

The incarnation of the last Buddha (Guatama), who is with true Buddhists the sole object of veneration, and even amongst the people, who are thorough Buddhists, the sole object of worship, is thus described:

"Whereupon the Great Man, viewing the fair prospects—that is, the time, the continent, the tribe, the womb, the country in which he should be born, was conceived in the womb of *Maha Maya*, the wife of King Suddhadena, who reigned in the city of Kimbulwatta, or Kappilawarta, in the continent of Dambadiva. Immediately on his conception, thirty-two wonderful phenomena were exhibited, and the four guardian gods took charge of the palace. After the usual period of gestation the queen was delivered, and immediately two clouds descended from the sky, and washed the sacred child and the mother, and he was received by

* See Mallet's Northern Antiquities, pp. 419, 420, 425, (Blackwell's edition); and Torfæus, Hist. Norveg. lib. ix. c. 3, vol. 1, pp. 374, 375; Paul. Diacon. Gest. Longobard. lib. i. c. 8.

Bramahs in golden nets and by gods in celestial linen, and was then placed in the hands of his royal father."—vol. i. p. 295.

The names, it is observed, that are given to Buddha are innumerable, amounting, according to one authority, to twelve thousand; but those most frequently used are thirty-seven in number. Amongst these names we find the following: "guide," "ruler," "all wisdom," "the chief of wise men," "the blessed," "great glory," "the helper," "sweet substance," "helper of the world," "sole ruler," "one ruler," "seeing all things," "gone to a high place," "conqueror of the world," "the king of doctrines," "god of gods," "great god," "great god of gods," "great king of kings."

Thus in the cold north, as beneath the burning sun of India, we can discover amid the earlier races of mankind, whithersoever they travelled, traces of the truth; and we can, alas, also discover, as the knowledge of that truth became overclouded with years, foul superstitions seeking to conceal it; until, at last, there is scarcely a trace of it to be found, either in the belief or the practices of mankind. The Deity is abandoned, and His works are divinised. In the north, the earth was adored as the spouse of heaven; the winds, hail, and showers were believed to be dwarfs that disturbed the air; and trees, stones, and running streams were worshipped as divinities! * In Ceylon, the pure Buddhist is for fifteen hundred years a devout worshipper of the molar of an ape—the *dalada*, or Buddha's tooth; and it is regarded by him as a species of magic possession, with which is identified the sovereignty of his country. †

The people of Ceylon are neither ignorant nor illiterate, so it is affirmed by Mr. Pridham, (vol. i. p. 246); and yet what are they as a people, and what is the state of society amongst them? "Their disposition," says Knox, an ancient traveller amongst them, whose opinion is confirmed by Mr. Pridham, "is crafty and treacherous; their protestations are not to be trusted; for so smooth and apparently frank is their address, that a stranger may be easily deceived, and they are so habituated to false-

* See Ozanam, *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*, p. 41.

† See Pridham, vol. i. pp. 321-327.

hood, that detection in it is considered to bring neither shame nor disgrace." It would be well, if nothing worse than this could be stated respecting them. There is such an utter want of all notions of modesty, that brothers solicit, and fathers approve, and husbands volunteer the dishonour of their sisters, daughters, and wives; whilst women, under the name of marriage, live in such a state of abomination, that even Socialists and Communists, who are struggling to render the marriage-tie a nullity, would shrink back appalled but to hear of it, (vol. i. pp. 250, 254.) Abortion is an accomplishment (vol. i. p. 254); and child-murder an open and avowed practice.

Two brief extracts will suffice to show the depth of moral degradation to which the people of Ceylon have fallen.

"Midwives," observes Mr. Pridham, "are almost unknown among the Singhalese, the neighbours being always ready to assist at the birth of a child. As soon as it is born, the father or some friend applies to an astrologer, to learn whether its nativity is under the influence of a good or evil planet. If under an evil one, they frequently used to destroy it, either by starvation, or drown it by immersing its head in water, or by burying it alive..... When asked why they treated their offspring in this heartless manner, the real parent would reply in a deprecatory tone, 'Why should I bring up a devil in my house?' believing that a child thus born in an evil hour would be a plague to his parents by disobedience. A first-born was never thus treated, but, on the contrary, caressed with great affection; and it was only when the family became numerous, and appeared likely to outstrip the means of subsistence, that *this pretext for its death was resorted to.*"—vol. i. pp. 256, 257.

"The Singhalese as a nation are superstitious to the last degree, viewing the most trifling accident as an omen portentous of good or of evil. Thus if a man, in entering on the business of the day, should chance to meet with any ill omen, or even to sneeze, he will stop under the impression that some misfortune will happen if he proceed. 'There is a little creature,' says Knox, 'like a lizard, which they consider rational. If it cries while they are proceeding on any work, they will stop in the belief that they are subject to the malevolence of some bad planet. In first going out in the morning, they anxiously observe the first person they meet; and if it happens to be a white man, or a fat woman, they hold it fortunate; but to see any decrepid or deformed people, the reverse.' As a proof of their prudery in the most trivial things, Knox relates, that if persons of a low caste happened to be conversing when the housewife was about to put the rice into the pot,

she requested them to be silent till she had put it in ; for if they talk during that process, they think it would not swell.”—vol. i. pp. 258, 259.

As impurity had its worshippers in the north in the filthy adoration of Freyr, so has Ceylon a similar disgusting spectacle in the worship of the goddess Patiné.* Thus, again, we perceive that no matter what may be the quarter of the globe on which we may fix our eyes, we can discover but in one place before the Incarnation of our Lord, and that the poor province of Palestine, the religion of the people in accordance with the knowledge professed by their priesthood ; and in no place, since that great epoch, any people whose religion is unstained with impure practices, but that place in which the true church of God is established.

We cannot part from this subject without calling attention to the fact, that in all the traditions of the men of the north, as well as of the people of Ceylon, in this respect the same as the Indians, there is traceable the account of the fall of the angels—of evil spirits contending against the Most High God. We hear of it in the wars of the Titans ; but, comparing the sagas of the Northmen with the myths of the Buddhists, there is this curious statement elicited, that the angels in the sagas of the north become changed into the demons of the Indian myths.

“Odin,” it is stated by Geyer in his *History of the Swedes*, “is father of all, father of gods and men, father of time ; the earth born of night is his progenitress ; the earth irradiated by the sun is his daughter and spouse, when with his brethren he has subdued and deposed Matter, typified by the body of the giant *Ymer*, slain in the abyss. The twelve divine *Asæ*, a bright and beautiful kin, form his council of gods. In conjunction with him they are also the first priests, the first lawgivers, and judges upon earth, builders of the first temple and the first town. Their chief city is *Asgard* of ancient days, lying in the centre of *Midgard*, or *Manhem*, the world of men, divided by a wall from *Jotunhem*, the home of the giants, at the end of the earth, where, under the uttermost root of the world-tree, in the realms of darkness and of cold, the dwarfs too have their abode.

“There was a happy time, when the gods invented the arts

* Ozanam, *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*, p. 44 ; Pridham, i. p. 259.

most indispensable to man's life, wrought metals, stone, and wood, possessed abundance of gold, showed in all things their divine power, sported, and were merry ; until their bliss was disturbed by the arrival of certain giant maids from Jotunhem, the peace made with the race of giants was broken, Odin hurled his spear amidst the people, and the first war was kindled. Then began the victorious, but direful strife against that evil race.....Cold and heat, from whose intermixture this world arose, send their demons out of Nifelhem and Mospelhem to a war in which the gods themselves are overthrown. Then, after the conflagration of the world, a new earth arises, verdant with self sown fields, the home of a race whose lives are unvexed with toil.*

The *Asæ*, a council of gods in the hyperborean legends, are in the traditions of the Singhalese converted into *Asurs*, and enemies of the gods—"the epithet *Asur* being one bestowed by the Brahmins upon the infidels of Lanka and of Southern India," and so used "as a term of general opprobrium in reference to a giant, a demi-god, a devil, or imitator," and of their leader it was declared, as if he were as great a magician as Odin: "where Rawana remains, there the sun loses its force ; the winds through fear of him do not blow ; the fire ceases to burn, the rolling ocean seeing him ceases to move its waves."† And here we may observe that the race of men—the *Asæ*—"the founders of cities," supposed to be amongst the first inhabitants of the north, were also believed to be the first inventors of the magic arts. "Inde magicarum artium inventores *Asæ* vulgo perhibentur."‡ "And therefore the Asaland people were called incantation-smiths."§

Much and interesting information respecting the idolatry and devil-worship that has for centuries prevailed in Ceylon, will be found in the following extract :

"The powers and attributes of the gods and demons of the Singhalese," remarks Forbes, "are not well defined ; they appear to be immaterial spirits of a nature superior to man, but limited in power, knowledge, and existence. Thus, the greatest of these deities, Maha Brahma, is a being of wonderful power and of vast

* Geyer's History of Sweden, translated by J. H. Turner, p. 5.

† Pridham, vol. i. p. 23.

‡ Torfæus, lib. iii. c. 17, vol. i. p. 144.

§ Inglinga Saga, c. 7.

comprehension, but inferior to the successive Buddhas in wisdom, purity, excellence, and knowledge, although superior in strength : that spirit, like all the higher order of beings in Buddhism, rose from a common station to his present exalted one by his virtues ; and after existing thus for some thousands of years, will either attain Niwanè, or relapse into his original obscurity. Four of these deities are supposed to have a peculiar influence over mankind. There are vices and crimes, moreover, charged in the history of the gods, while the devils seem to respect the virtues which they do not practise, and their forbearance must be purchased by offerings and propitiatory ceremonies. The wild and wooded nature of the island, and the now thinly scattered population, naturally tend to superstition ; for when the country was prosperous and populous, the Buddhist religion was maintained in the greatest purity.

"The temples of the gods are called *dewalés*, and the priests *kapuralls*. In them there is always some relic or emblem of a martial character, such as bows, shields, spears, swords, or arrows ; and if any person wished to erect a temple, he affected to discover by the aid of some inspiration, astrology, or other pretence, and with much ceremony and mystery, an arrow of the god, or some other relic, which lay concealed in the spot selected for the building. The will of the god having been thus miraculously ascertained, the work was commenced, and by permission of the king the temple might be endowed, and have the same privileges as a Buddhist *wiharé*. The qualifications of a *kapurall* are of no high order ; they are not educated for their office, or regularly ordained ; nothing is required, with the exception of caste, and the observance of a certain mode of living considered essential to purity ; and they display merely cunning sufficient to dupe the superstitious, whose offerings they generally contrive to appropriate to themselves, and physical power enough to enable them to go through the violent exertions and hideous contortions which they display, and call dancing and inspiration. Knox mentions, that when thus inspired every word they uttered was looked upon as spoken by God himself, and the people would address them as gods. These ceremonies are accompanied by tom-toms, pipes, chank-shells, *halamba* (hollow metal rings), and other discordant noises. Over the principal temples are placed overseers, who have charge of the revenues, and are guardians of the relic. They are laymen of rank, and do not take any part in the fatiguing ceremonial and frantic orgies, which in this superstition are considered to conciliate the deity invoked.

"Planets are believed by the Singhalese to be controlling spirits, for whom certain ceremonies and incantations are prescribed to be performed by those who are thought to be under the power of their malignant influence ; these ceremonies are called *Bali*, and are a combination of astrology with demon-worship. *Bali* is used

to express sacrifice to the planets or to demons, also offerings to deceased ancestors. *Balia*, according to Forbes, is an image of clay, made and worshipped by a person suffering under sickness and misfortune; it is supposed to represent the controlling planet under which such person was born; and for this purpose, as well as on all eventful occasions, his *handahana*, an astrological breviary with which every Kandian is provided, and which contains his horoscope, is submitted to the inspection of an astrologer, who directs the necessary ceremonies, such as the playing of pipes, beating of drums, and dancing; according to Knox, the images were then placed on the roads to be trodden under foot. These latter are always celebrated at night, and terminate before sunrise. Victuals always form part of the offering; and the whole ceremony, as well as the name, appears to be identical with the superstition of *Bel* and the Dragon. *Bali*, the controlling planets; and the Dragon, *Rahu*, the causer of eclipses.

"Not only the *Veddahs*, with whom it was till lately general, but a great proportion of the population, make offerings to ancestors and disembodied spirits of the virtuous dead. The antiquity of these ceremonies Forbes has traced to the *Ramayana*, in which, he says, it is stated, that the efficiency of a son's virtues and a pilgrimage to *Gaya* were sufficient to release a parent from hell. The offerings to ancestors appear to be intended for the double purpose of propitiating ancestral spirits, and rescuing them from a species of purgatory.

"Demon-worship is on the increase in Ceylon, and appears destined to rise on the ruins of Buddhism. Among the infernal or malignant spirits, to whom they are attracted by fear rather than affection, some will be found as heroes who are enrolled on the unsuccessful side in the wars of the *Rama* and *Rawana*; others are national misfortunes or bodily afflictions, to which superstition has given a form. Thus, pestilence is a red-eyed demon; there are also demons of the forest and the flood, tempest, and malaria; demons which sport in the strong scent of insalubrious blossom bearing trees, such as the *mee-tree*; demons of the *Sohon Pola* (cemetery), who inhabit tombs and roam through burying-grounds; and, lastly, the demons mental individuality may conjure up. The belief in the power of these evil spirits, the attention which is paid to propitiatory offerings, such as the sacrifice of a red cock, with the view of averting and repelling misfortunes supposed to be impending, are very general; yet many who practise these unhallowed rites in private, vehemently denounce them in public. Demon-worship would seem to have been a superstition of the aboriginal inhabitants that was never entirely abandoned, and though severely censured by *Gautama Buddha*, was sanctioned by various kings of Ceylon, and *Panduwasa*, b. c. 500, *Sirisangabo*, A. D. 239, *Bojas*, A. D. 340, issued royal edicts for the encouragement and regulation of demon-worship."—vol. i. pp. 307, 308, 309.

But we pass from these details with respect to all false forms of faith, to that which is the only real and true religion. In the annals of Ceylon, one of the great heroes of the Catholic church—St. Francis Xavier—appears, for he blessed the island with his presence, and despite of long, long years of persecution, the fruits of his labours are still visible.

We have already remarked, that full and accurate information upon every subject connected with Ceylon can be found in Mr. Pridham's book; but *one*—and that is the history of the Catholic church in the island, and especially the account of St. Francis Xavier's labours in the promotion and advancement of that church. We shall at once convict Mr. Pridham by his own words of inattention and inaccuracy as far as regards St. Francis Xavier. Mr. Pridham, in referring to the events that occurred in Ceylon in the year 1542, says:

"Don Juan, or Dharmapala, was at length really elevated to the throne (A. D. 1542), and christian baptism administered to him and many of the nobles with great solemnity, by *Alphonso Perera*, a priest brought from Goa."—vol. i. p. 91.

"The formularies and doctrines of the Romish church were first introduced into Ceylon, in 1542, by the celebrated *Francis Xavier*, who has been styled the Apostle of the Indies."—vol. i. p. 436.

Now, which of these is the correct statement? We believe, although inconsistent with each other, that neither is literally true, not even according to the statements previously made by Mr. Pridham himself in vol. i. pp. 11, 84, 85, 86.

In the perusal of this work, there is nothing we have more admired in its author than his anxiety to ascertain facts for himself, to search out original authorities, to compare statements, and to test their accuracy and their relative value with each other; but when he has to deal with the character and conduct of a canonized saint of the Catholic church, he never deems it to be necessary to look to the life of that saint, even though a slight research would have rendered it plain that there was a life of St. Francis Xavier written by no less an ornament to English literature than the "glorious John" Dryden;* that

* See vol. xvi. of Scott's Edition of Dryden's Works.

the letters of the saint describing his missionary labours are published ; that those labours are partly pourtrayed in the "*Lettres Edifiantes*;" that an account of all St. Francis did and suffered may be found published in Latin by Turselin, in Italian by Bartoli and Maffei, in Spanish by Garcia, in Portuguese by Luzena, and that even our spirited publisher, Mr. Richardson, could have supplied him at a shilling a volume with "*Butler's Lives of the Saints*," in which he would have found it stated, vol. xii., p. 51, that, "in the beginning of the year 1548, he (St. Francis Xavier) landed at Ceylon, where he converted great numbers, with two kings."

Mr. Pridham weighs the coffee of Ceylon by the ounce, and calculates its cinnamon by the pound. There would be no use in trying to deceive him by any jumble about "the official" and "the declared" value of articles; for in such a case his shrewdness would be on the alert, and his astuteness provoked to detect a fallacy and expose a falsehood; but where a Roman Catholic priest—a Jesuit, too!—is concerned, anything that may be said to his disparagement—even though he laid down his life, and endured years of martyrdom to save the souls of his fellow creatures—can be lightly said, willingly propagated, and readily believed! And why is this? Because Mr. Pridham is so blinded by a stupid, inane, and ferocious bigotry, that he—a gentleman, and a scholar, and a christian—can thus speak of a religion which a Newman, an Oakeley, and a crowd of illustrious men of his own creed, have recently adopted:

"It will readily be conceived, that any body of religionists connected with the Portuguese branch of the Romish church, and its off-shoot at Goa, are not likely to be distinguished for the purity and elevation of their faith. In the case of Ceylon, it is very questionable whether the tenets of Boodhism, divested of their idolatrous parasites, would not serve as a brighter beacon to light the path of morality, than the insensate and infinitely more debasing tenets of Rome."—vol. i. p. 349.

That an infidel could write thus would be intelligible; but for a Protestant, for one who believes in Christ, to do so, is only explicable on the ground that fanaticism, when it once takes possession of the reasoning faculties and excites the passions, will render devil-worship even preferable in the eyes of "the possessed," to that form of

faith which preaches "peace on earth to men of goodwill." We cannot recollect, in all our reading, any sentiment used by a professing Christian like to that here quoted from the pages of Mr. Pridham, excepting that unchristian sentiment employed by the Zealand sailors in the year 1574, who, in proceeding from Rotterdam to relieve ~~London~~, wore crescents in their hats, with the motto, "The Turk rather than the Pope."*

Mr. Pridham's facts are, however, of far more importance than his opinions. We have quoted enough of the latter to show, that no share of justice or of fair-play can be expected from him where the Roman Catholics and their religion are concerned; but still, and in despite of himself, when he comes to speak of the Roman Catholic church, and other creeds or professions of faith, as "a missionary church," he cannot conceal the success of the Roman Catholic, even though, from the year 1658 until 1806, it was a persecuted religion in Ceylon.

"Under the administration of the Dutch," says Mr. Pridham, "the Roman Catholic part of the population, whether of European or native extraction, was subject to various restraints and disabilities. They were not permitted to have a separate burial-ground, and were compelled to pay an extravagant sum for permission to inter their dead in the protestant cemeteries. A tax was imposed on the marriage of Catholics, which almost amounted to a prohibition. Though persons professing that faith were very numerous in the European settlements, they were excluded from all civil offices."—vol. i. p. 438.

Did this merciless persecution obliterate the Catholic religion in Ceylon? Mr. Pridham shall answer this question. His *first* statement will be read by Catholics in a spirit far different from that in which he penned it—with tender and affectionate sympathy; his *second* cannot be perused by Catholics but with feelings of exultation.

(1.) "The remnant of a christian church was discovered some years ago in the interior. In their dress, colour, general appearance, and manners these people did not perceptibly differ from the rest of the Singhalese, holding nearly the same rank as the Goe-wansè, and being liable to the same services, though not strictly

* "Liever Turksch dan Pausch." *Vaderlandsche Historie*. Boek. xxiv. § 31, vol. vi. p. 488.

belonging to the caste. Their religion, there is every reason to believe, was in a very rude and degenerate state. Their only minister was called Sachristian, an ignorant man, who could not read, and who had only a few prayers by heart. They worshipped the Virgin Mary, and prayed before an image of Christ on the cross; they baptized their children, and married and buried according to the forms of the Roman Catholic church, conformably with whose doctrine they believed in purgatory. To what extent their faith was contaminated by the superstitions of the surrounding people, *it is not very easy to determine.*"

And now let the reader mark the animus of Mr. Pridham, in referring to those poor abandoned Catholics holding on to the faith, through more than a century of persecution, and unvisited by a priest.

"It is reported, that they would occasionally visit the temples of Buddha, and make offerings of flowers at his shrine, which is credible enough, when we remember that their religion was not founded on judgment and reason, but on tradition and credulity—the basis of all superstition."—vol. i. p. 347.

We make no comment on such a sentence, but proceed to give the author's account of the results of the labours of the Roman Catholic, as a missionary, church.

(2.) "The Roman Catholics have now numerous chapels; the principal one is situated in the suburbs, and is called St. Lucia. The vicar-general resides there, and the annual conference is held in August, when the missionaries who belong to the congregation of the Order of St. Philip Neri, of Goa, are changed from one station to the other. *The vast majority of the fishermen belong to this school.** There is another and separate body of Roman Catholics under the control of a bishop, which numbers among its adherents the more wealthy and influential individuals. The whole number professing that religion in Ceylon is estimated at from 180,000 to 200,000 persons. By a recent bull the two Roman Catholic bishops are allotted distinct sees; the Bishop of Torona taking the northern, and the Bishop of Usula the southern division of the island."—vol. i. p. 439.

Thus far for the Roman Catholic as a missionary church. Let us now see what has been attempted, and what accomplished, by the Protestants of various nations and

* We pray the reader's attention to this sentence: its importance will be speedily shown.

manifold creeds. Mr. Pridham may on this point be relied upon as an unprejudiced guide: we pray the reader to attend to him.

"However purer the reformed faith, which was professed by the Dutch, might be, when compared with the *semi-pagan and debasing superstitions of the Romish church*, it cannot be predicated in their favour that they entered upon the task either with equal ardour or from similar motives to the Portuguese.....What could avail the single-minded efforts of Baldæus and Valentyn against that tide of avarice and rapacity, now the characteristic of this people?By refusing employment to any but christian natives, they adopted a sure method of creating hypocrites, but they were far from giving the Singhalese a favourable impression of their religion. It ceases, therefore, to be a subject for astonishment, that, *when they departed, their religion departed with them.*"—vol. i. p. 438.

So much for the Dutch Protestant, with its "purer reformed faith," as a missionary church. As to the Anglican church, much is promised *for the future*, although, as to *the past*, these are the words employed by Mr. Pridham:

"With respect to the Anglican church in Ceylon, *little requires to be said.* Until recently the number of its members *was very limited*, comprising chiefly the majority of persons of an official character, and a *few native converts.*"—vol. i. p. 440.

We have next an account given of the Protestant Church Mission:

"*The results of the Church Mission have, as till lately have been the case with all the missions, with the exception of the American, been almost entirely of a negative character.* Christianity itself has made but lee-way, yet its ministers have succeeded in sweeping away a vast mass of the prejudices which formerly confronted hem."—vol. i. pp. 440, 441.

As reference is made in such honourable terms to "the American Mission," we must describe its mode of conversion in the words of Mr. Pridham:

"The native church in Jaffna, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, is the offspring of the school establishment in the district, more especially of the *boarding-schools of the American mission.* The boarding-school was an asylum where its inmates were at peace in a new world. *They had no occasion to care for what they*

should eat, drink, or wear. They were pensioners on the bounty of christians in other lands, and were under the immediate superintendence of those who exercised more than a parental care over them."—vol. i. p. 441.

For such an elaborate and expensive mode of making converts as this, there is no precedent to be found but in Ireland—the land of precedents for all exceptional cases in every thing pertaining to law, polity, and religion. The Protestant American missionaries established gratuitous boarding-houses for pagans, as the Irish Protestant government erected "Charter Schools" for papists, and fancied that in so doing, that with creature-comforts must inevitably come a reverence for the Thirty-nine Articles! It was as if the essence of protestantism lay, as the late Lord Farnham seemed to think it did lie, in good dinners, when he announced "*a new reformation*" in Ireland, because he had got several hundreds of his hungry Cavan Catholic tenantry to dine on bacon for several successive Fridays!

As the Protestant Charter Houses have vanished from the Irish soil, and left "not a wrack behind"—as Lord Farnham and his Friday-bacon-dinners and his new reformation are all now as unsubstantial as a drunkard's dream, so too, undoubtedly, will be found the labours of "the American Mission," and of all the other sects and shades of Protestantism in Ceylon. Whilst the Roman Catholic church has the hardy, laborious-working, independent native fishermen amongst its converts, neither the American Mission, nor any other Protestant mission, with its boarding-houses or with bribes, can cocker up a single Singhalese Buddhist into a sincere, disinterested, and devout Protestant. They have made caitiffs in abundance; but no Christians. Such is the account of their labours as afforded to us by Mr. Pridham.

"Up to the hour of conversion of most natives, the all-absorbing inquiry has been, 'What shall I eat, and what shall I drink, and wherewithal shall I be clothed?' and these wants do not cease with his conversion."—vol. i. p. 441.

"One of the most disheartening obstacles to missionary success, is the almost unconquerable selfishness of the heathen, their view of the excellence of christianity depending on the number of rix-dollars received in their employment."—vol. i. pp. 442.

"A minute and careful examination of the native converts gene-

rally, has led even the missionaries to form a less favourable opinion as to their sincerity than they formerly entertained. '*The native church*,' say they, '*is mercenary in its views and practices*, and slow to imbibe evangelical principles of benevolence.' This circumstance is to be ascribed to peculiar circumstances in which they have been brought forward to their present standing. The feeling is, that it is their privilege to receive, and not to give. 'Even those,' say they, 'who are truly converted, have many and great defects of character.' Their former habits of sin—habits in which they have been trained from infancy—are not easily overcome and relinquished."—vol. i. p. 442.

"One missionary" (a Wesleyan) "thus speaks of the district of Negombo:—'The inhabitants in general are deeply degraded. For indolence, improvidence, selfishness, and deadness of heart, they cannot be exceeded. They will reply to the expostulations of the missionaries, that they will become christians if the God whom they declare will grant them some immediate benefit as a proof of his omnipotence. Such is their utter degradation, that out of every hundred persons, seventy would give false evidence on oath for a pice or a glass of arrack each. This is to them neither a secret nor a cause of shame. One village is notorious for its brutality. In all the villages may be seen numbers of young and old, almost in a state of nudity, hurrying to their graves. Two-thirds of the whole population of Gangabaddé-pattoo, and Belligam-korle in the Southern Provinces, are apoochamies, or gentlemen in appearance by day, and thieves by night. The people gamble in every direction, and the losing parties roam about by night, in gangs of forty or fifty, to make up their losses by robbery.' Of the southern and eastern provinces of Ceylon, which they have occupied in considerable force, the missionaries" (the Wesleyans) "report more favourably."—vol. i. p. 443.

The author pays a compliment to the Wesleyan missionaries in Ceylon, and it is expressed in so fair, so candid, and so discriminating a spirit, that we cannot refrain from giving a brief extract.

"They have not," says Mr. Pridham, referring to their labours in Ceylon, "like too many of their contemporaries in the Pacific, the West Indies, and the Cape, added by their own presence a plague to the evils they came to cure. They have not, like too many of their brethren there, deemed a sordid greed and agrarian acquisitiveness, audacious exaggerations and the vilest hypocrisy, impudent meddling, and vulgar insolence, to be necessary components of the missionary character."—vol. i. p. 444.

We have dwelt at greater length upon this point than we intended; but the subject is so interesting to every

Catholic, that our apology must be found in the importance of the topic itself. In dealing with it, we have pointed out the only fault that we could find in the labours of Mr. Pridham.

With the same freedom that we censure his defect, do we willingly bear testimony to what we consider are the indisputable merits of his publication—a great addition to the knowledge previously possessed respecting the ancient geography of Ceylon, a fitting arrangement of its ancient and truly interesting history, a codification of the laws of the Singhalese, a full account of slavery as it existed in Ceylon, a complete exposé of the manners and customs of its people, the first published account we have yet had of the coffee and sugar planting of Ceylon, of that which the author designates “the Great Tank question,” of coolie immigration, of waste lands, public works, naval and military defence, &c.; a complete account of the Yakkas, or aborigines of Ceylon; a perfectly original account of the origin and history of the Tamulians and Mookwas in the northern province; the only complete and connected account of the physical aspect and topography of Ceylon; an account of every department of the natural kingdom, which the author has had verified by those competent to aid and instruct him. *These* are the merits of the volumes now before us. In some of the topics detailed there is complete novelty, in all there is instruction; in most there is amusement combined with instruction: and as an inducement to others to peruse the pages of Mr. Pridham, we shall conclude with an extract in which there is afforded the proof, how the fable of the poet or the fancy of an imaginative people can give a new charm to the studies of the naturalist. Thus, along with a full account of the Tik Polonga snake, we find this note appended:

“A legend illustrative of the contrast which exists between the dispositions of the Cobra [snake] and the Tik-polonga, the former of which is considered a benevolent, the latter a malevolent being, runs as follows: In the isle of Serendib there is a happy valley, that men call the vale of Kotmale. It is watered by numerous streams, and its fields produce rice in abundance; but at one season great drought prevails, and the mountain torrents then cease their constant roar, and subside into rivulets, or altogether disappear. At this period, when the rays of the noontide sun beat fiercely and hotly on the parched earth, a tik-polonga encountered a cobra di capello. The polonga had in vain sought to quench his

burning thirst, and gazed with envy on the cobra, who had been more successful in his search for the pure beverage. 'Oh ! puissant cobra, I perish with thirst ; tell me where I may find the stream wherein thou hast revelled.' 'Accursed polonga,' replied the cobra, 'thou cumberest the earth, wherefore should I add to the span of thy vile existence ? Lo, near to this flows a mountain rill, but an only child is disporting herself therein, while her mother watches the offspring of her heart. Wilt thou then swear not to injure the infant, if I impart to thee where thou mayst cool thy parched tongue ?' 'I swear by all the gods of Serendib,' rejoined the polonga, 'that I will not harm the infant.' 'Thou seest yonder hamlet ; in front of it gushes forth a spring of water, that abates not during the intensity of the summer heat.' The polonga wended his way to the spot, and there beheld a dark-eyed girl bathing in the rushing waters. Having quaffed the delicious liquid, he repented him of his oath touching the infant. His evil soul prompted him to kill her, and as she lay beneath the shade of a leafy tamarind tree, he approached and inflicted a mortal wound. As he retired from his dying victim, he again met the cobra, who, seeing blood on his fangs, and perceiving the cause, thus addressed him : 'Hast thou forgotten the sacred oath thou sworeest unto me ? The blood of thy victim cries for vengeance. Thou shalt surely die !' And darting his fangs into the body of the polonga, he slew him instantly."—vol. i. pp. 749, 750.

ART. II.—1. *Lyra Catholica : containing all the Breviary and Missal Hymns, with others from various sources.* Translated by EDWARD CASWALL, M.A. London : Burns. 1849.

2.—*Hymns of the Heart ; for the use of Catholics.* By MATTHEW BRIDGES, Esq. London : Richardson and Son. 1848.

IT may be in the recollection of some of our readers, that, early in the history of the recent religious movement in the Anglican Church, we drew an omen of very favourable import from the unequivocal evidence of reverence and favour with which the offices of the Church, and especially the sacred poetry of the Breviary and Missal, seemed to be regarded by members of the New School. The notices of the Roman Breviary in the Tracts for the Times, though written in a strongly anti-Roman spirit, appeared to us, even from the first, to contain the germ of many a good

and hopeful principle, and, above all, to indicate a deep and lively consciousness of a certain want in the system of Anglicanism, from the gradual working of which we could not help anticipating the most important results. Mr. Keble's "Christian Year" (1827) might have been regarded as a still earlier* indication of the want to which we allude—as an attempt to supply a body of religious poetry, conceived upon what had begun to be called, "Church principles," and accommodated to the growing spirit of that Anglican, as opposed to Evangelical theology, which then began to develop itself. The "Lyra Apostolica," ten years later, (1836.) was a still less unequivocal exhibition of this spirit, and with this additional evidence of the diffusion of the feeling, that the "Lyra" was the work, not of one, but of several hands. Then came Dr. Mant's volume of "Ancient Hymns," professedly "from the Roman Breviary" (1838). This, however, was but a selection, and a selection drawn up, as was nearly every thing which proceeded from Dr. Mant, in a spirit of strong hostility to the pretensions of Rome. The Hymns of the Breviary are distinguished by him into three classes;—(1.) those which do not exhibit any of the corruptions of Roman theology; (2.) those which are, in part, sound, but contain a certain admixture of Romish error; and (3.) those which are tainted throughout with the offensive peculiarities of what he calls the "Romish" system. His collection is made chiefly from the first class; it of course excludes the third altogether; and the hymns of the second class which he has introduced, are so modified and mutilated, even in their most characteristic features, as to fall in with the most rigid Anglican, we had well nigh said Evangelical, orthodoxy. A more decided advance was made in the following year, (1838,) in the publication of a volume similar in size and appearance to its predecessor, containing the Hymns of the Parisian Breviary in the original Latin;† although in this collection also, (which, if we may judge from the well-known initials, was edited by Mr. Newman,) the principle adopted by Dr. Mant was followed so far as to exclude

* Bishop Heber's Sacred Poetry is deserving of all praise, but it belongs to a very different school.

† *Hymni Ecclesiæ: e Breviario Parisiensi.* Oxford, 1838.

every *direct* invocation of the saints which "could be reasonably supposed to extend beyond the legitimate limits of poetical apostrophe." It was followed soon after by a metrical translation from the pen of "the Author of the Cathedral," (Mr. Williams.) *Mr. Williams's translations are occasionally too highly poetical for the plain and practical original which they are intended to represent; but they are all written in the best and most unexceptionable spirit; and though there is a certain indescribable want discernible even in some of the best of the number, this want is not the result of any remarkable doctrinal departure from the text, as far as he undertook to translate it.

But, although it was impossible to be indifferent to the beauty of these and of several isolated metrical versions of Church Hymns, which from time to time have emanated from the pens of the New Anglican school, yet there was something even in their very excellencies which seemed to show that for purely Catholic devotional poetry, an unreserved and thorough Catholicity of heart and soul was necessary. We have long felt that, no matter how great may be the artistic beauty of the language, the imagery, and metrical harmony in which they are presented, the vague generalities of religious sentiment have little power to touch the heart; and that the very idea of adapting such compositions as the ancient Hymns of the Breviary to the common devotional uses of members of different communions, however it may succeed in a literary point of view, involves in practice a fatal and insuperable contradiction. The principle of arbitrary selection itself is attended with many inconveniences. The hymns of the Divine Office, though the work of different hands, the production of different times, and the offspring of different occasions and circumstances, nevertheless, as they are presented to us by the Church, form one general and undivided whole, from which it is difficult to separate any part without destroying the general unity; and it is especially evident that a selection founded upon such principles as those which were adopted by Dr. Mant, and which, indeed, *must* be adopted, in a greater or less degree, by all except purely and thoroughly Catholic translators, cannot fail of utterly effacing their most characteristic features. There is not a part of the Divine Office of the Church, not a single circumstance connected therewith, which has not its own fixed and settled purpose;

—hidden and mystical in many cases it may be, but yet tending in its own way to instruction, to edification, or even, it may be, to that beauty and harmony of design which pervades all her ordinances. To make an arbitrary selection among these parts—to adopt some and exclude others—to mutilate, or in any way to modify, the portions thus selected—even to disturb their order or arrangement—is to destroy the harmony as well as the fitness of the general design. A stranger, reading an occasional office of the Roman Breviary, may, no doubt, be struck by the many beauties and excellencies which he will discover therein. But, to those who are familiar with that most wonderful work of piety, we need not say that much, at the same time, will escape him, unless he knows the antecedents and the consequents. And this is true not only of the single offices, but of the distinct classes of offices, and of the whole structure of the ecclesiastical cycle. The offices of Advent lose half their significance, unless they be read with relation to the great festival which they introduce. The offices of Lent have a necessary reference to the Passion and to the Paschal mysteries; and yet, although each of these classes thus differs from the other in its object and tendency, it would be easy to show, nevertheless, that they have such a common relation to one another, that neither is in itself complete and perfect, even as a part of the great annual circle. Thus, again, the proper offices of the seasons form a perfectly distinct class from the offices of Saints. And yet how necessary is each class to the other, in order to its full and complete significance! The offices of Apostles, or of martyrs, or of bishops, receive their complement in those of confessors, of virgins, or widows, and *vice versa*; and the common offices of these several classes find not only a pleasing and grateful variation, but a useful and edifying commentary, in the proper offices of particular saints. To select the proper hymns of Advent, of Christmas, of Lent, of Easter, and to pass by those of the great saints, whose offices, as arranged in the Breviary, relieve and diversify them—to translate every hymn and every sequence of the Pentecostal office, and to suppress altogether the noble hymns and sequences of the office of Corpus Christi—to translate the opening stanzas of such a hymn as the Stabat Mater, and to stop short at its most moving as well as most characteristic address to “that Mother, Fount of love”—to tell of

the miracles and mercies wrought through the intercession of a saint, and yet to shrink from the invocation of his aid, to confidence in which these had but formed the introduction—is to mutilate and deform instead of translating; it is to suppress the most essential and characteristic elements of the great design—to present the building without the portico, or to leave the portico in solitary and unmeaning loneliness.

Nor can it be denied that the inconvenience here contemplated applies also to every class of selections from the Divine Office. And hence, even a *complete* collection of any of the separate parts of the office—of all the prayers, or lessons, or responses, or chapters, or hymns of the Breviary, can but be regarded as a fragment, or an assemblage of fragments. The hymns of any one of the offices, for example, though a very beautiful, are yet but a small portion of the entire offices; and, perhaps, there is no other portion, which, considered in a merely philosophical point of view, stands at greater disadvantage in isolation from the rest. From its very nature—from the necessities of its poetical structure and composition, it will often present literal difficulties and obscurities, vague and indistinct allusions, which need a commentary in the lessons, or the homilies, or other didactic portions of the office. And thus, even the most beautiful and striking of all our Church Hymns, when presented by themselves, can only be regarded as brilliants withdrawn from their setting, retaining, of course, whatever of native beauty they may possess, but losing the charm which they borrowed from their judicious association and harmony with the other features of the general design.

Nevertheless, although it must be held that their full beauty and significance is impaired by their being presented separately, the Hymns of the Roman Breviary and Missal, even as independent devotional compositions, form one of the most important collections in the whole range of Christian literature. Their value, even for the purposes of private devotion, may be estimated from the fact, that there is no language in Europe into which they have not been, at least in part, translated, and that many of them have been introduced even into the devotional poetry of Protestant communities;* nor could Mr. Caswall, in our

* For example, in Bunsen's great collection of German Hymns.

judgment, have earned a stronger title to the gratitude of the Catholic body in England, than that which he may rest upon the volume now before us. His collection is exempt from all the striking defects of those which preceded it. It is complete, supplying a metrical version of every hymn in every office and mass throughout the year; it is free from those arbitrary and capricious mutilations which destroy the unity and pervert the character of the original; it is, above all, fully and fearlessly Catholic in its spirit, in its tone, in its imagery, and in its language. And, in addition to these negative, but yet very important excellencies, its positive merits, in a literary point of view, are of the very highest order.

Indeed, a person who would be disposed to estimate the merit of a poetical translation of the Hymns of the Breviary, by comparison with almost any other species of poetical composition, would render but a scanty measure of justice to the translator. It would be difficult to imagine any task, whether in sacred or in profane literature, which involves so many and so peculiar difficulties. It is not alone that the hymns in themselves present almost every possible shade of variety;—the accumulated growth of every age, from the days of Constantine to our own; the work of an endless variety of authors, from St. Ambrose and St. Jerome to the Roman academicians of the seventeenth century; embodying every variety of subject—history, biography, doctrine, piety, asceticism, spirituality, theology, and even dogmatism; embracing every variety of metre, from the classic measures of the Horatian epoch to the jingling rhyme of the middle age—and every shade of latinity, from the studied purity of Prudentius to the rude though expressive scholasticisms of St. Thomas. The necessity of accommodating himself to the variety which all this supposes, forms but one of the embarrassments of a poetical translator of the Breviary. The real difficulty of the task lies in the nature of a large proportion of the hymns themselves, many of which differ in almost every particular from the ordinary standard of poetical composition. Many of the hymns, it is true, are highly poetical, even in the largest sense of the word; but there is also a large proportion, in which either their exceeding simplicity and plainness, or their practical and didactic tone, deprives the writer of all the ordinary aids to poetry. There is no sublimity to elevate his verse, no passion to

give it power; and very often there is little tenderness, at least in the common sense of the word, to make it steal to the heart. The very language itself presents a fresh embarrassment. A sentiment which may be terse and pointed enough in the close and expressive phrase of the Latin original, becomes vague, and loose, and weak, when expanded into the lengthy English equivalent; and when, to these inherent difficulties of the subject, we add the trammels imposed by the necessity of more than ordinarily *literal translation and of adherence to the metres adapted* to congregational uses, we shall have some data by which to estimate the full requirements of the task.

It is no ordinary merit on Mr. Caswall's part, therefore, that his success appears to us to be greatest in those very portions of his work which presented the greatest difficulty. His translations of the great and striking hymns, are, no doubt, eminently successful. But we cannot help regarding it as a still greater evidence of his peculiar adaptation for the task which he undertook, that in the most plain and unpoetical of them all, he has, generally speaking, succeeded in preserving all the plainness and simplicity of the original, without permitting it to degenerate into commonplace, or, at least, into inelegance.

The volume consists of three parts:—the first contains the hymns of the Roman Breviary; the second, the sequences of the Missal; the third, a selection of hymns from the Breviaries of Paris and of Cluny, and a few other authentic sources. The first part is, by far, the most comprehensive. It comprises not only the hymns of Vespers, but also those of Matins, Lauds, and the lesser Hours; and as it includes not only the hymns of the common, but also the proper ones, both of the seasons and of the saints, it may be made to serve, by means of a table which the author has prefixed, as a manual of devotional poetry for every day of the ecclesiastical year.

A few specimens, however, of the manner in which Mr. Caswall has executed his task, will do more than a lengthened criticism to enable the reader to form a correct judgment. And, perhaps, as a means of testing his performance by comparison with that of his predecessors, we cannot do better than commence with some of the most popular and familiar hymns which are already known by more than one translation. The following most literal, and yet most forcible and impressive version of the *Dies Iræ* needs no introduction at our hands.

" Nigher still, and still more nigh
Draws the Day of Prophecy,
Doom'd to melt the earth and sky.

" Oh ! what trembling there shall be,
When the world its Judge shall see,
Coming in dread majesty !

" Hark ! the trump, with thrilling tone,
From sepulchral regions lone,
Summons all before the throne :

" Time and Death it doth appal,
To see the buried ages all
Rise to answer at the call.

" Now the books are open spread ;
Now the writing must be read,
Which condemns the quick and dead :

" Now, before the Judge severe
Hidden things must all appear ;
Nought can pass unpunish'd here.

" What shall guilty I then plead ?
Who for me will intercede,
When the Saints shall comfort need ?

" King of dreadful Majesty !
Who dost freely justify !
Fount of Pity, save Thou me !

" Recollect, O Love divine !
'Twas for this lost sheep of thine
Thou Thy glory didst resign :

" Satest wearied seeking me ;
Sufferedst upon the Tree :
Let not vain Thy labour be.

" Judge of Justice, hear my prayer !
Spare me, Lord, in mercy spare !
Ere the Reckoning-day appear.

" Lo ! Thy gracious face I seek ;
Shame and grief are on my cheek ;
Sighs and tears my sorrow speak.

" Thou didst Mary's guilt forgive ;
Didst the dying thief receive ;
Hence doth hope within me live.

" Worthless are my prayers, I know ;
Yet, oh, cause me not to go
Into everlasting woe.

"Sever'd from the guilty band,
Make me with Thy sheep to stand,
Placing me on Thy right hand.

"When the curs'd in anguish flee
Into flames of misery ;
With the Blest then call Thou me.

"Suppliant in the dust I lie ;
My heart a cinder, crush'd and dry ;
Help me, Lord, when death is nigh !

"Full of tears, and full of dread,
Is the day that wakes the dead,
Calling all, with solemn blast,
From the ashes of the past.

"Lord of mercy ! Jesu blest !
Grant the Faithful light and rest."—pp. 241-4.

On the same ground we are induced to transcribe also Mr. Caswall's version of the *Stabat Mater*. It is found in the office of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to which it supplies (being divided into three parts) the hymn of Vespers, of Lauds, and of Matins. We shall not attend, however, to these divisions, but present it undivided.

"At the Cross her station keeping,
Stood the mournful Mother weeping,
Close to Jesus to the last :
Through her heart, his sorrow sharing,
All his bitter anguish bearing,
Now at length the sword had pass'd.

"Oh, how sad and sore distress'd
Was that Mother highly blest
Of the sole-begotten One !
Christ above in torment hangs ;
She beneath beholds the pangs
Of her dying glorious Son.

"Is there one who would not weep,
Whelm'd in miseries so deep
Christ's dear Mother to behold ?
Can the human heart refrain
From partaking in her pain,
In that Mother's pain untold ?

"Bruis'd, derided, curs'd, defil'd,
She beheld her tender Child
All with bloody scourges rent ;

For the sins of his own nation,
Saw Him hang in desolation,
Till his Spirit forth He sent.

"O thou Mother! fount of love!
Touch my spirit from above,
Make my heart with thine accord:
Make me feel as thou hast felt;
Make my soul to glow and melt
With the love of Christ my Lord.

"Holy Mother! pierce me through;
In my heart each wound renew
Of my Saviour crucified:
Let me share with thee His pain,
Who for all my sins was slain,
Who for me in torments died.

"Let me mingle tears with thee,
Mourning Him who mourned for me,
All the days that I may live:
By the Cross with thee to stay;
There with thee to weep and pray;
Is all I ask of thee to give.

"Virgin of all virgins best!
Listen to my fond request:
Let me share thy grief divine;
Let me, to my latest breath,
In my body bear the death
Of that dying Son of thine.

"Wounded with His every wound,
Steep my soul till it hath swoon'd
In His very blood away;
Be to me, O virgin, nigh,
Lest in flames I burn and die,
In His awful Judgment day.

"Christ, when Thou shalt call me hence,
Be Thy Mother my defence,
Be Thy Cross my victory;
While my body here decays,
May my soul Thy goodness praise,
Safe in Paradise with Thee."—pp. 138-42.

These hymns, however, and others of a similar character, although they exhibit Mr. Caswall's poetical powers in a very favourable light, are, by no means, an

adequate representative of the general contents of his volume. From the highly poetical character of their subject, the task of rendering such pieces into impressive and agreeable verse is comparatively easy. It is very different for a hymn such as the following, which is the Sequence of the mass of Pentecost. If the reader will take the trouble to turn to the original, and examine its curiously terse and epigrammatic structure, the immense variety, and yet singular appropriateness, of the petitions which it embodies, and, above all, the rigidly scriptural character and tone which pervades it, he will be able to appreciate the minute fidelity with which, in Mr. Caswall's version, every thought, every image, almost every word, is rendered, the accuracy with which the leading features of the structure are maintained, and the gracefulness and ease, withal, which characterize the versification.

VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS.

- "Holy Spirit! Lord of light!
From Thy clear celestial height,
Thy pure beaming radiance give:
- "Come, Thou Father of the poor!
Come, with treasures which endure!
Come, Thou Light of all that live!
- "Thou, of all consolers best,
Visiting the troubled breast,
Dost refreshing peace bestow;
- "Thou in toil art comfort sweet;
Pleasant coolness in the heat;
Solace in the midst of woe.
- "Light immortal! light divine!
Visit Thou these hearts of Thine,
And our inmost being fill:
- "If Thou take Thy grace away,
Nothing pure in man will stay;
All his good is turn'd to ill.
- "Heal our wounds—our strength renew;
On our dryness pour Thy dew;
Wash the stains of guilt away:
- "Bend the stubborn heart and will;
Melt the frozen, warm the chill;
Guide the steps that go astray.

"Thou, on those who evermore
Thee confess and Thee adore,
In Thy sevenfold gifts, descend :
"Give them comfort when they die ;
Give them life with Thee on high ;
Give them joys which never end."—pp. 234-6.

So also, in a subject of even greater difficulty, the Sequence of the Corpus Christi mass, which is, in great part, a dry doctrinal exposition of the Mystery of the Blessed Eucharist, and which is as full of theological technicalities as a professed dissertation upon the doctrine.

"Sion, lift thy voice, and sing ;
Praise thy Saviour and thy King ;
Praise with hymns thy Shepherd true :
Strive thy best to praise Him well ;
Yet doth He all praise excel ;
None can ever reach His due.

"See to-day before us laid
The living and life-giving Bread !
Theme for praise and joy profound !
The same which at the sacred board
Was, by our Incarnate Lord,
Giv'n to His Apostles round.

"Let the praise be loud and high ;
Sweet and tranquil be the joy
Felt to-day in every breast ;
On this Festival divine,
Which records the origin
Of the glorious Eucharist.

"On this Table of the King,
Our new Paschal offering
Brings to end the olden rite ;
Here, for empty shadows fled,
Is reality instead ;
Here, instead of darkness, Light.

"His own act, at supper seated,
Christ ordained to be repeated,
In His Memory divine ;
Wherefore now, with adoration,
We the Host of our salvation
Consecrate from bread and wine.

"Hear what holy Church maintaineth,
That the bread its substance changeth
Into Flesh, the wine to Blood.

Doth it pass thy comprehending ?
Faith, the law of sight transcending,
Leaps to things not understood.

"Here, beneath these signs, are hidden
Priceless things, to sense forbidden ;
Signs, not things, are all we see ;—
Flesh from bread, and Blood from wine ;
Yet is Christ, in either sign,
All entire, confess'd to be.

"They too, who of Him partake,
Sever not, nor rend, nor break,
But entire, their Lord receive.
Whether one or thousands eat,
All receive the self-same meat,
Nor the less for others leave.

"Both the wicked and the good
Eat of this celestial Food ;
But with ends how opposite !
Here 'tis life ; and there 'tis death ;
The same, yet issuing to each
In a difference infinite.

"Nor a single doubt retain,
When they break the Host in twain,
But that in each part remains
What was in the whole before ;
Since the simple sign alone
Suffers change in state or form,
The Signified remaining One
And the Same for evermore.

"Lo ! upon the Altar lies,
Hidden deep from human eyes,
Bread of Angels from the skies,
Made the food of mortal man :
Children's meat to dogs denied ;
In old types foreshadowed ;
In the manna Heav'n-supplied,
Isaac, and the Paschal Lamb.

"Jesu ! Shepherd of the sheep !
Thou Thy flock in safety keep.
Living Bread ! thy life supply ;
Strengthen us, or else we die ;
Fill us with celestial grace :
Thou, who feedest us below !
Source of all we have or know !

Grant that with Thy saints above,
Sitting at the feast of love,
We may see Thee face to face."—pp. 236-40.

Perhaps (with a few splendid exceptions) there is no class of hymns in the Roman Breviary which contains less of the poetical element than the proper hymns of saints. A brief, and often (unless interpreted by the accompanying lessons) not very distinct allusion to some leading incident in the Saint's history, a short practical exhortation drawn from his example, and a prayer for his intercession in behalf of the worshipper, will be found, in most cases, to form the staple of the Saint's hymn. Nevertheless, Mr. Caswall has, in many instances, succeeded in working up even these simple materials into no inconsiderable degree of poetical beauty. For example, in the Vesper Hymn of St. Hermenegild, martyr:

- "Glory of Iberia's throne!
Joy of Martyr'd Saints above!
Who the crown of life have won,
Dying for their Saviour's love:
- "What intrepid faith was thine!
What unswerving constancy!
Bent to do the will divine
With exact fidelity!
- "Every rising motion check'd
Which might lead thy heart astray;
How thou didst thy course direct
Whither virtue shew'd the way!
- "Honour, glory, majesty,
To the Father and the Son,
With the Holy Spirit be,
While eternal ages run."—pp. 142, 143.

But there is no portion of the volume which appears more likely to become universally popular than the hymns for the Passion-time, those of the Friday Lenten Offices, and the others which bear upon the Passion of our Lord. In order to enjoy their full beauty they should be read side by side with the original; but, even for its own sake, the translation of the noble Vesper Hymn of the fourth Friday of Lent may take its place in the very highest rank of devotional poetry.

"Forth let the long procession stream,
And through the streets in order wend ;
Let the bright waving line of torches gleam,
The solemn chant ascend.

"While we, with tears and sighs profound,
That memorable Blood record,
Which, stretch'd on His hard Cross, from many a wound,
The dying Jesus pour'd.

"By the first Adam's fatal sin
Came death upon the human race ;
In this new Adam doth new life begin,
And everlasting grace.

"For scarce the Father heard from heaven
The cry of His expiring Son,
When in that cry our sins were all forgiven,
And boundless pardon won.

"Henceforth, whoso in that dear Blood
Washeth, shall lose his every stain ;
And in immortal roseate beauty rob'd,
An angel's likeness gain.

"Only run thou with courage on
Straight to the goal set in the skies ;
He, who assists thy course, will give thee soon
The everlasting prize.

"Father supreme ! vouchsafe that we,
For whom Thine only Son was slain,
And whom Thy Holy Ghost doth sanctify,
May heavenly joys attain."—pp. 83-5.

We had marked many others for extract, especially the "*Cœlestis Urbs Jerusalem*" from the sublime office for "The Dedication of a Church," which we are reluctantly compelled to pass over. We shall venture to conclude, however, as we commenced, with the translation of an old and familiar hymn, the *Ave Maris Stella*. It is by far superior to any existing versions of this most charming hymn, and, indeed, the only one which at all maintains the spirit of the original, and preserves its light and graceful tone without destroying its tenderness and solemnity.

"Gentle Star of ocean !
Portal of the sky !
Ever Virgin Mother
Of the Lord most High !

- "Oh! by Gabriel's Ave,
Utter'd long ago,
Eva's name reversing,
Stablish peace below.
- "Break the captive's fetters ;
Light on blindness pour ;
All our ills expelling,
Every bliss implore.
- "Shew thyself a Mother ;
Offer Him our sighs,
Who for us Incarnate
Did not thee despise.
- "Virgin of all Virgins !
To thy shelter take us !
Gentlest of the gentle !
Chaste and gentle make us.
- "Still as on we journey,
Help our weak endeavour ;
Till with thee and Jesus
We rejoice for ever.
- "Through the highest heaven,
To the Almighty Three,
Father, Son, and Spirit,
One same glory be."—pp. 197-9.

Of Mr. Bridges's volume, which stands second on our list, we have already spoken in another place ; but we could not deny ourselves the pleasure of uniting its title with that of the *Lyra Catholica* ; not only on account of their affinity of subject and of tone, but still more because both works seem to have had their origin in a kindred feeling, and to have been intended by the authors as an expression of their gratitude to Him, who, through many trials, has vouchsafed to bring them to a knowledge of His truth, and of their reverence and affection for that ancient Mother within whose bosom it has been their common happiness to find rest from their wanderings.

- ART. III.—1. *Systematic Colonization*. By ARTHUR MILLS. London : Murray, Albemarle Street, 1847.
2. *South Australia ; its Advantages and Resources*. By GEORGE BLAKESTON WILKINSON. London : Murray, Albemarle St., 1848.
3. *The Emigration Circular for August*, 1848.
4. *Zwölf Paragraphen über Pauperismus*. By THEODORE HILGARD THE ELDER. Heidelberg, 1847. London : Williams and Norgate.

THE time seems now to have arrived when the subject of colonization will receive the serious attention that it would have been better to have paid to it long ago. We have been impelled by suffering into a course, that, had we been wiser, we should have voluntarily adopted. A conviction has forced itself on the minds of men of all parties, that it is the best, if not the only remedy for many existing evils; but we fear it is still regarded too exclusively as a remedy, a mode of cure for certain chronic diseases of the body politic, and not generally as one of its most important functions when in a condition of perfect health.

It was in this light it was considered by those nations of antiquity, who, however inferior to the moderns in many points of social science, requiring, perhaps, a larger course of experiment than they had gone through, were in this business of colonization greatly more successful than any modern nation as yet has been. "Most of our modern colonies," says a distinguished writer (Whately), "have been stunted and sickly; and the only child we have succeeded in rearing, has disowned its parent." But it is somewhat curious that, in his plans for the improvement of our system of colonization, the Archbishop should have hit on one of the surest methods not only of stunting the growth of a new community, but of inflicting on it the taint of some of the diseases which have occasioned the most grievous pain and danger to the parent.

Perceiving the disadvantage of emigration proceeding mostly from the poor and needy classes of society, and the benefit that would result from some admixture of the highest, he proposes to tempt the latter by the prospect of an hereditary power in the government of the colony, and to make, or endeavour to make, the new community as

far as possible the fac-simile of the old—to pour the new wine into old bottles.

“Such a community,” he says, “will have received from us, and will always trace back to us, all its social ingredients. Its highest class will be ours, its gentry ours, its clergy ours—all corresponding to our manners and institutions, and *even our prejudices.*”

We should say, God forbid! Is the parent country so perfect, that she can wish for nothing better than that the child shall be the exact copy of herself? Can we look back on our history, and round on our social state, and pronounce that it is all good? Have our actions been always such, that we can wish for nothing better for our children than that they should go and do likewise?

“Vain was the man, and false as vain,
Who said, were he ordained to run
His long career of life again,
He would do all that he had done;”

and the thought would be as unwise and presumptuous in a nation as in an individual.

The progress of the Greek colonies towards even material prosperity appears to have been, in many instances, greatly more rapid than that of the most successful hitherto planted by modern Europeans; and in intellectual science, in poetry, philosophy, and the arts—there can be no comparison in the two cases: for in all these things modern colonists have invariably sunk below the level of the mother country, and in some instances retrograded even to the verge of barbarism.

Yet in the means at our command—in wealth and power, in the knowledge of the laws of social economy, of physical science and the useful arts; of almost all things that would appear most important to the success of such an experiment, we have incomparably greater advantages.

Our colonies have, indeed, been planted at much greater distance from the mother country than theirs; but our immense improvements in the means of communication must go near at least to balance this solitary disadvantage; and greater regularity of intercourse, consequent on improvements in navigation, may in a great measure compensate for unavoidable delay. In all things else, the advantage seems on our side. Yet the history of modern

colonization is full of failure and disaster; that of the ancients of almost invariable success.

The history of the world, indeed, for many ages, is little else than the history of successful colonization. The colonies of the Egyptians, as well as subsequently those of the Greeks, were planted like ours in the midst of savage tribes; yet we hear nothing of the absolutely unavoidable decay of an aboriginal wild race before the advances of a civilized one, of the necessity of driving away or exterminating the native owners of the soil, or of the impossibility of teaching them to refrain from predatory habits, and accept the civilization offered them. We hear of one Egyptian after another landing on the wild shores of Greece, among fierce, rude men; and wherever they come, they are the messengers of light and intellectual life—the wilderness around them blossoms as the rose. Whether the name of Cecrops signify an individual, or, according to a modern hypothesis, a colony of priests from Sais,—he, or they, planted the wheat, the olive, and the vine; taught the wild, mast-eating men to plant them, and to love the soil which they tilled; gave in the temple of Minerva a local habitation and a name to their unsettled religious aspirations; induced them to respect the marriage tie, and laid the foundations of commerce, of navigation, and of civil government. Around the fort of Cecropia grew up temples and dwellings, which towered into the greatness of Athens, far outshining in intellectual splendour that of the parent state from which its civilization had been derived.

In a later age the Greeks performed the same duty towards the nations still in untaught infancy. Colonization went on. Light after light was kindled along the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; and Ephesus, and Miletus, and Syracuse, and Tarentum, and Croton, and many more, almost eclipsed by their radiance that of Greece herself. But it is needless to dwell on a fact not often, we believe, disputed; even if there were some unsuccessful colonies, the records of which have not reached us, it would not affect the argument, unless it could be shown that those which were successful, possessed means of success that we have not.

Mere distance has not been the cause of failure, for some, which have to a certain extent succeeded, have been as distant as those which have totally failed; and

one of the worst specimens of colonization to be found any where—that of the French in Algiers—was made in a region almost within sight of the mother country. It has not been difference of climate, though that is unquestionably a point of the first importance to a new colony, for there are examples—in the first settlement of North America, for instance—where the progress of colonies, planted in the finest country and climate, has been slower and more uncertain than that of others which have had great difficulties of this kind to contend with. We must look for the cause, not so much in any physical condition, as in the motives in which they have originated, and in the system resulting from them upon which they have been conducted.

Most of the colonies of the Greeks had their origin in the natural and legitimate object of providing for the wants of an over-numerous population. Those of the moderns originated generally in the lust of gold or of enlarged empire, or, at best, they were planted merely for the extension of trade and the accumulation of wealth; and as a natural consequence of this difference, in the former case it was desired to raise up a community that should be prosperous in itself, in the latter one that should be profitable to the parent state; and the relations of a colony with the mother country must be, of course, mainly determined by the motives and circumstances which have led to its foundation.

Perhaps we can hardly find a better means of proving that in these, far more than in any natural difficulties, is to be sought the cause of success or failure, than in glancing at the early history of two colonies, planted almost at the same time, by the same people, in the same country; of which the one was for a long time among the most disastrous—the other, perhaps without exception, the most happy that was ever planted by any modern nation. We allude to those of Virginia, and to the Catholic colony of Maryland, founded by Lord Baltimore.

The ardour for colonization which arose in the time of James I., has been for its wild fervour (alas for the "*progress of the species!*") compared to that of the Crusades in an earlier age. Every order in the state was seized by this mania; for the thirst of gain was awakened in all by the example of the Spaniards, and the sight of the vast booty that had fallen into their hands.

Peer and peeress, prince and peasant, merchant and mechanic, rushed forward alike to grasp at these golden treasures, or the unsubstantial image of such, which gleamed brightly in their fancy. Gentle King Jamie was of course not a whit behind his subjects in the desire to fill his pockets, and lured by such hopes, he granted in 1606 charters to two companies, one of which proposed to colonize an immense region, stretching from the 33rd to the 45th degree of latitude, on the whole of which the name of Virginia had been bestowed.

The first actual settlement made—for two former attempts had, as is known, terminated in deplorable failure and disaster—was by a small colony of “gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, and libertines,” without any women, who seated themselves on the banks of the James River, but made no attempt to cultivate the soil, probably because their heads were full of the thoughts of gold; and they soon, by their licentious behaviour, provoked the hostility of the natives, who appear at first to have received them with kindness. Then came famine, disease, and death to fill up the measure of their miseries, and reduce their numbers to a miserable remnant. The few survivors began now to entertain a project of dividing among themselves the land which they had hitherto held for the company; but a report of this intention reaching the company in England, produced from their side a threat totally to abandon the settlers, and regard them as banished men, and a peremptory order to proceed forthwith to explore the western wilderness, “and transmit, as soon as might be, a lump of gold as an earnest of their success.”

Time of course dissipated these idle dreams, and turned the attention of the company perforce to objects of greater importance and utility. New settlers were sent over, and by slow degrees the surrounding forest was opened, timber was prepared for various uses, and maize planted, which hitherto had been obtained only by traffic with the Indians.

But the position in which the settlers stood was in the highest degree unfavourable to improvement. They were subject to the yoke of a three-fold authority—the personal authority of the king (to whose wisdom they were indebted for many tiresome regulations), of the distant commercial Company, and of the president and council appointed by it. The settlers laboured with little or no interest in

the fruits of their toil; for not only was the land still the property of the company, but by the express instructions of the king they were regarded as one great family, and the product of all labour placed in a common magazine for general subsistence. As in most communistic experiments, it was found that under these circumstances the chief product was idleness, and a plentiful lack of all things beside. The president and council found it necessary to stimulate industry, by declaring in round terms that those who would not work should not eat; and driven forward a little by this application of the spur, the settlement advanced a small space farther along the banks of the river. But now they were again attacked by the Indians, with whom a hostile feeling had arisen, provoked chiefly or wholly by the misconduct of the colonists; the provisions of the settlement were recklessly wasted, for the strongest motive to economy, as well as to industry, had been banished by the system of communism; and there ensued another period of terrible suffering from famine, long remembered with horror as the "starving-time." Supplies, however, were sent from England; and in May, 1611, a new governor arrived, who found it necessary to punish disobedience and various delinquencies by placing the colony under martial law. The planters were now divided into hundreds, over each of which a captain or overseer was appointed to keep them to their work, and "chastise inattention."

Notwithstanding this severity in the beginning, however, this Governor Dale appears to have been the first who took a step in the right direction. He enacted that every free settler should have a claim for a farm of *three* acres to cultivate for himself, provided he would agree to labour three months for the company "to whom he owed his transportation;" and this regulation it seems gave the colonists "much content," although they were still only tenants at will. It was not till 1615, nine years after the planting of the colony, that the avarice of the company was compelled so far to relax its gripe, as to offer, by way of encouragement to emigration, fifty acres in absolute right to every freeman. From this time we hear no more of famine: maize was produced in abundance, and the following year tobacco, the grand staple of Virginia, was introduced.

The colonists, however, were still liable to many vexatious VOL. XXVI.—NO. LII.

tions. In the first place they had, in the Scotch phrase, "ower many masters;" and of the spirit in which the government was administered, we may form some idea when we hear that martial law had become the common custom of the country, and that a certain person was condemned to death for having spoken contemptuous words of the governor. All matters of domestic commerce, the modes of private life, or ecclesiastical affairs, were equally under his regulation. Then King James was playing all kinds of fantastic tricks with their tobacco; now sending forth his "Counterblast" against the "precious stink,"—now holding out his hand for his share of the profits.

The Company, taught by experience, had at length renounced the system, so oppressive to the colony, of having all consignments made to their factor, who alone had been allowed to transmit European goods in return: they had thrown open the trade to Virginia, and at the same time, "wearied by the barbarous usage of the farmers of the customs," they had dispatched a cargo of tobacco to Holland, where it was eagerly bought. But immediately out came an angry rebuke from the king and the privy council, declaring their conduct to be inconsistent with the honour of the state, and the true principles of colonization; and enacting that none of their tobacco should thenceforth be carried into foreign parts, till it had been first brought to England, and the duty paid; and in 1621 it was ordered that all connection between Virginia and foreign countries should be cut off. The Company, driven from their position as merchants, now endeavoured to make their territorial rights available, and offered land very freely to all who would emigrate or *encourage* emigration; and Virginia received an accession of between two and three thousand settlers. But the profusion with which land was now given away, encouraged the propensity to dispersed habitation so common among emigrants, and entailed on the colony much hardship and misfortune. The Indians of course saw with little satisfaction these extensive encroachments on their hunting grounds; quarrels and mutual murders took place, and the next year three hundred and forty of the settlers were massacred in a single day. A famine ensued, and they were still more frightfully thinned. At length, however, supplies were again sent from England; the colonists recovered sufficiently to become in their turn the attacking party, and drove the Indians far

back into the wilderness. War, however, occasioned expense, expense taxation, taxation discontent; and for the first time the people came openly into collision with their governor. Disputes ran so high, that a royal commission was sent over to enquire into the matter, which it settled much in the same manner as the lawyer in the renowned oyster cause in the fable.

The company, after having expended a hundred and fifty, or some say, two hundred thousand pounds upon the colony, was dissolved by royal authority, and an ordinance issued that the government of Virginia should thenceforth depend immediately on the crown.

From this hasty glance into the early annals of Virginia, it is, perhaps, sufficiently evident that the manifold misfortunes by which its progress was retarded, were neither to be attributed to its distance from England, to the nature of the country, or of the aboriginal inhabitants, or to any other unavoidable difficulties, but entirely to the plan on which it was founded, and the system under which it was conducted. "Of all expedients that can be contrived," says Adam Smith, "to stunt the natural growth of a new colony, that of an exclusive company is the most effectual;" and there is no lack of examples for the illustration of the maxim. The present one, however, is rendered still more striking by the contrast afforded by the settlement of Maryland, a part of the same territory, only a few years after, on a plan far more resembling that of the Greeks, to which we have alluded: the leader, or captain of their colonies, having been always one of the chief men of the state—a prince, a noble, or, if it proceeded from a democracy, an honoured and influential citizen.

The little band that went forth to Maryland, seeking—not, like so many of their contemporaries, "gold, gold, nothing but gold"—but a refuge from the severity of penal laws and from fanatical persecution, and to create a new home, not merely to feed a passion for gain, was under the guidance of an enlightened statesman and a man of honour and conscience, possessing the additional advantages of birth and wealth, who, as well as his family, was willing to share the fate of such as trusted themselves under his command, and to embark his fortune in the undertaking. Sir George Calvert, clerk of the privy council to James I., and one of the secretaries of state—though

he resigned the office on account of the change in his religious opinions, having become a Catholic—had engaged, like many others, with great zeal in the colonization projects of the age. For some time he appears to have acted as an associate to some of the great companies, but, perceiving probably the unavoidable defects in their system, he desired to obtain the exclusive ownership of any tract which he should undertake to colonize. There was, as our readers are aware, at that time nothing unusual in such a request. The Earl of Carlisle and his heirs were, in 1629, made proprietors of the Caribbee Islands; the Earl of Malmesbury, or (as he was then) Lord Leigh, had been previously presented with the Island of Barbadoes; to Sir Robert Heath and his heirs were granted in perpetuity all the Bahama or Lucaya Isles, with an immense region on the continent, comprising what is now Georgia, Tennessee, and Louisiana. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the magnificent liberality with which the governments of those days gave away what did not belong to them.

Sir George Calvert seems, in the first instance, to have contented himself with a territory which few would have envied him, namely, the peninsula of Avalon in the desolate Island of Newfoundland. He went thither with his wife and family, and made the first successful settlement which had ever been founded on those rugged shores, those previously attempted having failed; but the excessive severity of the climate compelled him after a time to abandon it, and he determined to seek a home for himself and his people in some happier region. Charles I. lent him a ship for the purpose; he paid a visit to Virginia, after the dissolution of the company, and returned home to procure his patent. But he was not destined to enter again the land of promise, into which he had been permitted to look. He died before the patent could be made out, having previously suffered the grief of having his wife and some of his children lost at sea. His son and heir, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, therefore received the grant intended for him of a large country, upwards of 13,000 square miles, separated from the territory of Virginia, and an authority that was nothing less than regal, for, though a general reservation was made of the supremacy of the crown of England, there were no regulations to ensure either immediate superintendence or future control.

It is worth while to take a look into this extraordinary charter, which was printed, and, together with the conditions of plantation, to be seen by all who desired it at "Master William Peasely, Esquire, his house, at the back side of Drury-lane, over against the Cockpit Play-house; or, in his absence, at Master John Morgan's house, over against the Dolphin in Holbourne." In this we perceive, that "Whereas our right trusty and well-beloved subject, Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore in our kingdom of Ireland, pursuing his father's intentions, and being animated by a right laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, hath besought leave to transport, at his industry and charge, an ample colony of the English nation unto a certain country in the parts of America, we grant and confirme to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever, the peninsula lying between the ocean on the east and the Bay of Chesapeake," &c., &c. (here follows a more exact description of its position,) "with all the islands and islets within the said limits, and within ten leagues from the eastern shore, with all the soile, fields, woods, mountains and fens, lakes, rivers, bays, and inlets, &c., with the fishing of all sorts of fish, and all veines, mines, quarries of all gold, silver, gems, precious stones," &c., with the single reservation of the fifth part of all the gold and silver. On Lord Baltimore and his heirs is also bestowed the patronage and advowson of all churches which may be expected to arise as the Christian religion shall increase in the country, as well as "all prerogatives, privileges, royalties, liberties, immunities, royal rights, by sea and by land;" and they are created the true and absolute lords and proprietaries of the country, "saving always the faith and allegiance due to us, our heirs, and successors, to whom two Indian arrows of those parts are to be delivered at our castle of Windsor, every yeere on the Tuesday of Easter weeke."

Free and absolute power is also granted to the proprietary and his heirs, to make and publish under their seals "any laws whatsoever, either appertaining to the public state of the said province, or the private utility of particular persons, according to their best discretion;" and though it is added, that this shall be done with the advice and approbation of the freemen of the province, as these are to be "assembled at such times, and in such sort and form as to Lord Baltimore and his heirs may seem best,"

this provision does not seem likely to impose any very powerful check on their authority.

They are to appoint all judges and magistrates, to impose penalties, imprisonments, or any other punishments, "yea, if it shall be needful, the taking away of member or of life;" and they may, if they please, "omit, release, pardon, and abolish all crimes or offences whatsoever." They may levy, muster, and train men for military service; may, in case of rebellion or tumult, exercise martial law, and may make war and peace on their sole authority. Besides this, the proprietary and his heirs are endowed with full and absolute power to confer rewards and honours on their subjects, and invest them "with what titles and dignities soever they shall think fit;" and finally, it is declared, that if any doubt should arise concerning the sense of any word, clause, or sentence in the charter, "such interpretation shall be made and allowed as shall be judged most advantageous and favourable to Lord Baltimore, his heirs, and assigns."

Few will be inclined to deny that a despotism may be, and most probably will be, in a majority of cases one of the worst forms of government that can be devised; but it must also be admitted that for special purposes, and under certain conditions, it may happen to be one of the best. The government of an army or of a ship, for instance, is undoubtedly a model of efficiency for the purposes it has in view; and whatever evil may occasionally arise from an abuse of the power entrusted to the chief, it does not appear that it would in these cases be expedient to substitute any other form of government.

We recollect, indeed, hearing of an officer in a Danish regiment of volunteers, who was accustomed, when he gave an order to his men, to add, "And I will tell you the reason why;" but we fear it would not be easy to find in another such an example of respect for the rights of private judgment.

A small body of persons going forth to plant the standard of civilization in the wilderness, is perhaps placed in a position in some measure analogous to that of being led to battle; at all events, in one widely different from that of any old and settled society.

It is, therefore, a question worth asking, whether some modification of the plan of the Maryland colony may not be found better adapted than any other to the exigencies of

the case ; though of course for proprietary colonies, of which the proprietor remained at home, none could well be worse. Another great mistake was the continuance of the extraordinary powers granted to the founder of a proprietary colony, to his heirs, who could have given no pledge of character and ability, and who must be placed in circumstances widely different from those which could alone justify the bestowal of such powers.

One of the first proofs Lord Baltimore gave of his fitness for the trust reposed in him, was the proclamation of perfect liberty of conscience, in an age when, though so many were willing to claim it for themselves, few or none were ready to grant it to others. In this respect Maryland was an example to every other colony ; and the religious liberty, then so uncommon a boon, was not, we may observe, merely held out as an inducement to emigrants to encounter the difficulties of a first settlement ; for sixteen years after, long after its prosperity was established, we find a law emanating from the council, containing several ecclesiastics, which, after reciting the dangerous consequences of enforcing conscience, declares that no Christian shall be disturbed in the free exercise of his religion, that any person molesting any other on account of his tenets shall pay treble damages to the party wronged, and that he who shall reproach his neighbour with any opprobrious names of religious distinction, shall pay ten shillings to the injured party. On the 22nd of November, in the year 1633, Mr. Leonard Calvert and Mr. George Calvert, brothers of Lord Baltimore, with "divers gentlemen of quality, servants, and other persons, to the number of two hundred, sailed from Cowes, and on the 24th of February following arrived at Virginia, and sailed into Chesapeake Bay, "betweene two sweete lands, in a channel seven or eight fathom deep and ten leagues broad, and full of fish, one of the delightfulest waters ever seen."* They then entered the river Potomac, which is described by one of the party as "the greatest and sweetest that I know, so pleasant that I was never tired with beholding it," and they saw as they entered an Indian chief,

* "A Relation of the Successfull Beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland, being an Extract of Certain Letters written from thence by some of the Adventurers to their Friends in England."

who is denominated the "Emperor of Paschattowayes," with about fifteen hundred men armed with bows and arrows, for it seems a rumour had arisen among them that the Spaniards were coming in great force to drive them from their country. There seems some probability that this report originated with the Virginian settlers, who were extremely jealous of the new colony.

The Indians did not, however, make any attack upon them, and they landed temporarily at an island called St. Clement's, surrounded with shallow water, where it is recorded a small disaster befel them in the overturning of a shallop in which some maids were washing, an accident which occasioned "the loss of much linen—a maine loss in those parts."

This island abounded with cedar, as well as "vines, sallets, hearbs, and flowers," and, moreover, the ground was covered thick with *pokickeries*, if our readers know what they are;* but as the island contained only 400 acres, it was thought too small for the settlement, and it was determined that the wanderers should seek their fortunes further on.

But there were two things to be done first,—the one was to take formal possession of the country "in the name of the Saviour and the King of England," the other to come to a friendly understanding with the above-mentioned potentate, the Emperor of Paschattowayes. For the ceremony of taking possession a large tree was cut into the form of a cross, and the governor and the chief of the gentlemen adventurers put their hands to it, and then all kneeled down and said certain prayers, after which the governor and some of the gentlemen set off in two pinnaces for the Indian town of Potomac. Here, notwithstanding what they had heard from one of the Virginians of the hostile feeling of the Indians, they met with the most friendly reception, and one of the company having entered into a little discourse with the Emperor touching the errors of their religion, he seemed well pleased therewith, and at his going away desired him to return to him again, telling him he should live at his table, his men should hunt for him, and he would divide all with him. The Emperor afterwards came on board the ship, and being assured that the colonists came in a peaceful man-

* A kind of wild walnut.

ner, bade them welcome, and gave them leave "to sit down in what place of his kingdom we pleased." They then proceeded up the river to where it formed "two excellent bays for 300 sail of ships of 1000 tons to harbour in." The left was occupied by a "King of Yaoromoro," but on the right, about a mile inland, they resolved to establish their town of St. Mary's, on "as brave a piece of ground to sit down on as most in this country, and as good as the primest parcell of English land," having previously, however, "to avoid all just occasion of offence or colour of wrong," bought the land of the king for hatchets, axes, hoes, and clothing. The Indians were the more willing to sell from being in some fear of a very powerful neighbouring nation, the Sasquesahanoughs, who were frequently making war on them. They seem to have looked on the English in the light of protectors, saying, that "as we came so well prepared with armes, they could be content to dwell by us."

Nothing, indeed, could exceed the cordiality and kind feeling that subsisted between the natives and the new comers. One of the chiefs declared that he loved the English so well, that "if they should kill me, so they left me but so much breath to speak unto my people, I would command them not to avenge my death."

"The natives," writes one of the party, "are proper tall men, of person swarthy by nature, but much more by art, painting themselves with colours in oyle like a dark red, which they doe to keep the gnats off, wherein I confess there is more ease than comeliness. As for their faces, they have other colours at times, as blue from the nose upward, and red downward; sometimes contrariwise in great variety, and in very ghostly manner. They are described as quick-witted, and temperate in their diet, having at first an aversion to spirits or wine, and living chiefly on corn, with the addition of fish, fowl, or venison.

"For modesty I must confess I never saw from man or woman any action tending to levity, and yet daily the poor soules are in our houses, and take content to be with us, bringing sometimes turkies, sometimes squirrels as big as English rabbits, at other times fine white cakes, partridges, oysters, ready boiled or stewed, and do run unto us with smiling countenances when they see us, and will hunt and fish for us if we will, and all this with intercourse of very few words, but we do gather their meaning by signs. It is lawful for them to have more wives than one, but all keep the rigour of conjugal faith to their husbands. The women's very aspect is modest and grave. Generally the nation is so noble,

that you cannot do them any favour or good turn but they return it. There is small passion among them, but they weigh all with a calm and quiet reason; and to do this the better, they are studying in a long silence what is to be said or done, and then they answer yea or no in two words, and stand constantly to their resolution. If these people were once Christians, it would be a right virtuous and renowned nation. As for their religion, we have not language ourselves to find it out; but Master Throughgood, who drives his Lordship's trade upon the river Patosunt, hath related somewhat. First, they acknowledge one God of heaven, which they call our God, and cry a thousand shames upon those Christians that lightly offend so good a God. But they give no external honour to him, but use all their might to please an *Obee*, or frantic spirit, for fear of harm from him. They adore also fire and wheat as very beneficial to man's nature.....They seem to have knowledge by tradition of a flood, wherein the world was drowned for sin.

"And now, to return to the place itself chosen for our plantation. We have been upon it but one month, and therefore can make no large relation of it; but for our safety we have built a good strong fort or palisade, and have mounted upon it one good piece of ordnance and four *murderers*, and have seven pieces of ordnance more ready to mount forthwith. For our provision here is some store of peas and beans and wheat, left upon the ground by the Indians, who had satisfaction for it. We have planted since we came as much maize as will suffice, if God prosper it, much more company than we have. It is about knee high above ground already, and we expect the return of a thousand for one, as we have reason from experience of the yield in other parts of the country as credibly related to us. We have also English peas and French beans, cotton, oranges, lemons, melons, apples, pears, potatoes, and sugar canes, besides *hortage*, coming up finely. But such is the quantity of vines and grapes now upon them, as I dare say, if we had vessels and skill, we might make many a tun of wine, and such wine as those of Virginia say is as good as the wine of Spain. I feare they exceed, but surely very good."

After some further account of the plenty of animal and vegetable productions, the writer concludes:

"And to say truth, there wanteth nothing for the perfecting of this hopeful plantation, but greater numbers of our countrymen to enjoy it.

"From St. Mary's in Maryland, 27th May, 1634."

In the settlement of Maryland, although many solid advantages were offered, no temptation was held out to avarice or licentiousness. We hear no mention, except in

the king's charter, of silver or gold ; the colonists are not to be emancipated from all restraints of government, civil or ecclesiastical, and allowed to consider their own passions as their only law, as settlers in a new country have too often done ; pride and bigotry is not to be indulged, as it was in many of the puritan colonies, by the permission to retaliate on those who may differ from them the persecution to which they had themselves been subjected, and they are not to consider the grant of the land by the King of England as absolving them from the necessity of purchasing it of the natives for what they may consider an equivalent ; and they are to take every possible method of cultivating their good will, and of exchanging the blessings of Christianity and civilization for those they have reaped in the land of the red men.

The conditions of the plantations, which, as we have said, were printed in London, were, that to every emigrant bringing with him ten able men between the ages of 20 and 60, Lord Baltimore would assign 3000 acres of good land, to be erected into a manor for him and his heirs for ever, subject only to a rent of 600 lbs. of wheat ; and to prevent the "straggling manner of dwelling used heretofore by our English in forraine plantations, Lord B., wishing his planters to dwell together at the first in, or as near as may be unto St. Mary's town, did also assign to every such undertaker and his heirs a plot of ground fit for a house and garden, to build upon ; and so much land as near unto the town as might be to plant victual upon, according to the proportion of five English acres for each man." Others who might bring a smaller number were to receive land in proportion, paying a quit-rent of 20lbs. of wheat for every 100 acres. For every woman brought, 30 acres extra were allowed. Every labourer willing to bind himself for a term of five years, was to be brought over free of expense ; to have during his time of service meat, drink, and clothing in plenty ; and at the end of it 50 acres of good land, and a whole year's provision of all necessaries. Every "sufficient bricklayer, carpenter, joiner, cooper," &c., twice that quantity for three years' service.

Every married man that should transport himself, his wife, and children, should have assigned for himself 100 acres, for his wife 100 acres, and for every child under the age of sixteen 50 acres, paying a quit rent of twelve pence for every 50 acres. "Any woman that shall transport her-

self, or any children under the age of six years, shall have the like conditions; and any one shall be allowed for every woman servant under the age of forty, 50 acres more."

The emigrant is to be furnished with estimates of the needful quantity of food, clothing, bedding, tools, arms, implements, &c., that he will require, as well as of the expense of clearing land, and making his settlement.

The colonists, as soon as they had fixed on a spot for their town, did not lose any time in searching for silver or gold, or indolently trust, as the Virginians had done, to obtain the first necessities of life from the Indians, in exchange for goods sent from England. They immediately set to work with great energy to raise cattle and corn for the supply of the immediate wants of the inhabitants, and tobacco with a view of attracting foreign traders; and at the end of only six months we find them erecting a water-mill by general contribution for general use.

At the end of two years, during which time the settlement had gone on most prosperously, an assembly was convened, probably of every freeman, to assist the governor in making such laws as might be requisite for the colony; and it was agreed that where these were silent, they should follow the laws and laudable customs of England. The governor also, though he possessed the right of punishment on his sole authority, sent offenders to trial by their peers; and in all their acts he and his council seem to have given abundant proofs of wisdom, moderation, and patriotism. It might be that the original habits induced by the religion of the settlers—their submission to law and established authority, and their love of order, had a beneficial influence in counteracting the failings and correcting the errors to which a new community is most liable.

The subsequent troubles of Maryland, which it would transgress our limits too far to attempt to follow, arose mostly from causes foreign to the principles of its settlement,—such as the intrigues of Clayborne, who, banished from Virginia, and convicted of piracy, attempted to make a forcible settlement within the territory of Lord Baltimore; the fanaticism of some puritanical settlers from the North, who attempted to set up their own little standard of orthodoxy, in opposition to the wise toleration which included all who believed in Jesus Christ; and the diffi-

culties in which the colony was involved from the changes of government in England. In 1650 the constitution of Maryland might be considered as established. The legislature consisted then of two houses,—the first summoned by the writs of the proprietary, the lower chosen by the people; and the latter appears to have manifested a certain jealousy of the great authority of the rulers, undoubtedly prudent and necessary, since that authority had been unwisely extended to future generations. We find the assembly, nevertheless, passing repeated “acts of gratitude” to their governor, “as a token of their love, considering he had lived long in the province, and done the people many singular favours.” The agitations of the civil commotions in England disturbed, as we have said, in some measure the peace of this happy valley; and as Lord Baltimore had quietly acquiesced in Cromwell’s government, he was superseded by Charles II., who from his court in Jersey issued a mandate appointing Davenant governor of Maryland in place of Lord Baltimore, “who did too visibly adhere to the rebels;” but the poet appears to have declined undertaking so perilous a business as that of taking possession of his government. At the restoration, however, when accurate memories were not cultivated, Lord Baltimore’s delinquencies were forgotten or overlooked, though it appears he was subsequently much out of favour with James II.

But the prosperity of the colony had been laid on too solid a foundation to be liable to disturbance from a mere gust of a monarch’s displeasure, or even from events that seriously affected the position of the proprietary. So late as 1705 a visitor to the settlement gives a pleasing picture of the comfort and happiness of the colonists, and the kindly feeling still subsisting between them and the aborigines.

“The country of Maryland,” he says, “is a noble, fine country, fit for any manner of business that concerns the life of man, neither too hot in the summer, nor too cold in winter, abounding in all sorts of timber for house, shipping, or fire wood; fruits of all kinds, peaches to that degree that they knock down bushels for their hogs. At the fall of the leaf they have fat beef and fat pork coming home to their doors, without giving them any corn, (having fed in the woods.) In the winter the Indians come down among the English, and hunt for them; they will kill you seven fat bucks for a blanket..... There are turkies of forty, and even sixty pounds

weight, &c. The Indians are also great artists in catching fish, which also they learn the children to do. The women, they plant the corn and the water melons, and get ready, while the men go abroad in the woods hunting after game, and do bring it home for them to dress. Many of 'em are gone nor'ard among the Canady Indians, but those which are left are very favourable to the English, hunting for 'em and living amongst them."

It is a curious instance of the way in which historical reputations have been bestowed, that while William Penn has been celebrated as the wisest and most virtuous of legislators, Baltimore is almost forgotten and unknown to fame. For his treatment of the Indians Penn deserved, as well as obtained, much credit;* but, even during his lifetime, we find the assemblies of Pennsylvania complaining "with grief" of his attempts to undermine his own foundations, and "by a subtle contrivance endeavouring to find a way to lay aside the act of settlement, and dissolve his second charter;" while the assemblies of Maryland never ceased to speak in the most grateful and affectionate terms of Lord Baltimore, for "his unwearied care in preserving their lives and liberties, and his vast expense in the improvement of their estates."

We have no intention at present of examining the details connected with the subject of emigration, contained in some of the publications whose names have been placed at the head of this article. They would be of little interest to general readers, and for immediately practical purposes a notice in a review must of course be wholly inadequate. To one, however, we would wish specially to call attention, namely to that entitled, *Zwölf Paragraphen über Pauperismus*, (Twelve Paragraphs upon Pauperism.) The author held for five-and-twenty years a responsible situation as a magistrate in his native country (Germany), and he has since been ten years a resident in the United States. He has, therefore, had ample opportunities of forming a sound opinion on the subject of his "*Twelve Paragraphs*;" and he has communicated them with a clearness and brevity, which are rarer merits with his

* This was adopted, as he himself declares in a letter to the Commissioners of Plantations, dated 1683, in pursuance of the advice of the Bishop of London; and in his dispute with Lord Baltimore, he brought this forward as one of his claims to favour.

countrymen than that of profound knowledge. Considering extensive and systematic emigration to have now become essential to the welfare of the more numerous classes in most European countries, he proceeds to encounter the difficulty which immediately suggests itself, namely, by what means governments are to raise funds sufficient for the unavoidable expenses of such an undertaking. These he considers might be found in an alteration of the existing laws of intestate succession, by which it would be abolished in all cases where there were no heirs either in the ascending, descending, or collateral lines nearer than the fifth degree. From estates falling to somewhat nearer, but still distant kindred, the author would claim a certain proportion, decreasing with the nearer approach of relationship.

The inheritance of property by those who have stood in a near and dear relation to a deceased person is so natural, reasonable, and accordant with the best affections of our nature, that we cannot conceive a case in which it would be advisable to interfere with it. But the extension of such a right to those who have been strangers to him, with whom not the slightest tie of affection can be supposed to exist, has obviously been a mere legal makeshift. That this legal fiction has been productive of anything but a kindly feeling between parties so situated, is notorious enough in all countries. In Germany those who succeed to the inheritance of a distant relative, are known as "laughing-heirs." By the proposed alteration no one would be deprived of anything more than those remote *expectations*, which are proverbially the worst fortune a man can be born to; and even in the cases where a certain amount should be levied from estates falling to nearer relatives, "it is evidently far less irksome to obtain something less of that of which we have yet possessed nothing, than to have a long accustomed possession even in the smallest degree diminished. This is the fault of the poor law in England, which is felt as extremely oppressive, yet in a great measure fails of its effect; and this would be the case with every tax that could be invented, and even voluntary contributions would be felt as a far more important sacrifice than those of the plan we have been advocating."

Another consequence of some such reform, of which, though remote, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the

importance, would be its tendency to check that enormous accumulation of property in a few hands, to which the present laws of inheritance have so powerfully contributed.

For the further details of his plan, which, however, the author professes to give chiefly with a view of elucidating his meaning, as they must necessarily be determined in a great measure by the existing laws and circumstances of various countries, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself.

"Systematic Colonization" is an eloquent appeal to the higher classes of this country, to become the leaders of their countrymen in enterprises for which the wants of the time so urgently call—a course of which the Calverts of former days have left so noble an example. The appeal is made

"To the fearful and the selfish, no less than the hopeful and patriotic; as well to those who think only of their own short lives, as to those whose thoughts penetrate into the dim hereafter of their country. We have consecrated the best centuries of our national existence to the construction of an empire whose foundations are the shifting sands of commercial exchange, which have hitherto proved treacherous to all the nations that have trusted them.....If this Queen of many waters, whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth, would fulfil the high purposes of her present existence, she will draw to herself, by the cords of a peaceful christian colonization, those yet unalienated provinces of her empire, whose sympathy may be her strength, but whose hatred must be her ruin. I am too hopeful of the destinies of my country, too trustful in the energies of the few noble minds who may control them, to apply to her in thought or word the eloquent denunciations of the Hebrew prophet, who foretold the fate of the renowned city of the eastern seas; but I cannot forget that Tyre, and Carthage, and Constantinople had once all, and perhaps more than all, the elements of material and commercial strength now possessed by any nation on the earth. I am, moreover, well persuaded (all hard materialism to the contrary notwithstanding) that cash and paper payments are not the only nexus of nations: tapes, and muslins, and cotton prints, and wool, and timber, and molasses may be very profitable symbols of a transitory relationship; but it is as the centre of reverence and affection, if at all, that the British Empire shall endure, or shrink withered and powerless within the narrow limits of her island shores.

"Even to young and half-civilized states, whose rulers the problem of over population had not yet puzzled, the command to subdue and cultivate the earth was not given lightly or unmeaningly;

to the self-interest of mature nations, its significance is quickened by the consciousness that its neglect may react penally on themselves... ..

"From the record of national relations" of ancient Greece with her colonies, "so noble in their spirit and so glorious in their results, in which patriotism seemed almost to anticipate the yet unrevealed holier instincts of christian love, the student of the future annals of Australia and America will pass on to the story of the birth and parentage of his own commonwealth. I cannot conceive a literary transition more shocking to a believer in the uniform advancement of the human race, or more calculated to strengthen that soberer faith which recognizes in the alternate triumphs of truth and falsehood, and the oscillations of prosperity and adversity in men and nations and centuries, the simple, natural consequences of the rejection or acceptance of the eternal laws of God and reason. There is a fashion now of talk, and with some fanatics even of belief, in what they call the westward course of the world's civilization. The extinct empires of Central Asia, the ruins of Greece and Rome, the fallen republics of the middle ages, and the already detected tokens of decay in certain European states, are pointed out in vindication of their theory. The ashes are indeed there, but we look in vain for the Phœnix. It would be more true to say that man marches westward, to mar the beautiful creation of his God. In the valley of the Mississippi, that last and most magnificent dwelling-place ever prepared by God for man's abode, the Anglo-Saxon colonist is rapidly repeopling the once happy hunting-grounds of a nobler race, whom his corrupt and treacherous civilization has poisoned.

"A type of human character, at once more savage, selfish, and acute than any age or nation can present, may be recognized to-day in the enlightened and independent citizen of the western states of the American Union."

At the risk of marring in some measure the effect of the passage we have quoted (in whose general spirit and purpose we cordially agree), we must protest against this stern and sweeping condemnation; at the same time there is too much evidence on that side to make it possible to doubt that the Anglo-Saxon character has, in the course of colonization, suffered grievous moral deterioration. Is it too much to hope that a better era is at hand, in which such enterprises may be undertaken with nobler motives, and may lead to happier results? The high-born and wealthy are often found ready enough to forsake the allurements of pleasure and inglorious ease, when they are called upon to lead their countrymen against a mortal enemy. Will none be found willing to head the charge against a more formidable foe?

ART. IV.—*Dizionario di erudizione storico Ecclesiastica, compilato dal Cav. Gaetano Moroni. Vol. xvi. xviii. Venice, 1842.*

MANY of our readers have met with references to the decisions of the Sacred Congregations of the Holy See, and some may have wished to possess information respecting the constitution and offices of those venerable courts. In compiling it we may be obliged to use the technical language of our authorities, and we must apologise before-hand if we should not succeed in making its meaning intelligible. Most of us are aware, that in the arduous task of governing the Church, the Pope avails himself of the learning and assistance of the Cardinals, prelates, and others of the secular and regular clergy, and our purpose is to explain how their help is rendered of service by him.

Formerly, matters of greater moment were examined in the *Consistory*, composed of all the cardinals resident at the time near the Pope; but as inconveniences arose from this method, the Popes resolved to lessen the business of the Consistory, and to distribute the matters submitted to it amongst standing committees, consisting of cardinals and prelates, chosen according to their learning and their fitness for advising upon the subjects to which the attention of each committee was to be directed. They were to consult other prelates or ecclesiastics, if necessary, and their deliberations were to be presented to the Pope for his approval, and if the Holy Father judged such a course expedient, the decision was to be reported to the whole Consistory, in order that the opinion of the assembled cardinals might aid him in his determination. These committees are the Sacred Congregations, and although we may suppose that similar bodies were appointed occasionally in earlier times, the present system of permanent congregations arose in the sixteenth century, and it is in a great measure owing to Sixtus V. Some of them may consist of both cardinals and prelates, and some of the former only, and others of the latter only; but, in most cases, each congregation is presided over by a cardinal, with the title of prefect, who is assisted by a prelate as

secretary. It is the duty of the latter to report the deliberations of the congregation to the Pope from time to time, generally once in each week, and to receive the documents or statements which have been sent direct to his Holiness, or which the parties wish to present to the latter through the medium of the congregation. In the discharge of these duties the prefect and secretary employ various clerks, who are termed in Italian *minutanti*; and amongst the latter, each is employed according to his qualifications for particular kinds of business. The *minutanti* and secretary meet once a week, if necessary, at the residence of the cardinal prefect, and arrange upon the answers to be given to the petitions which have been received during the preceding week, or which have been standing over from want of time, or of sufficient information upon their contents. This meeting is called the *congresso*. For the more ready dispatch of business, it is usual for the Pope at his accession to grant certain powers to each congregation; and if the petition considered at the *congresso*, or submitted during the course of the week to the officers of the congregation, come within the scope of these powers, the decision is given at once in the name of his Holiness. If the matter of the petition be more difficult, it may be sent to the bishop of the diocese whence it came for further information, or the bishop may be requested to state his own opinion upon it, or to summon all parties interested in it to state how far they consent to it, or wish to oppose it. When sufficient information has been received, the petition may be reported to the Pope, and his decision may be prayed respecting it. But if it involve difficulties in point of law, fact, or principle, it is referred to the cardinals and prelates of the full congregation. For their information an abstract of the case is prepared, with a reference to the law and the documents connected with it, and concluding with the various questions arising upon it. This abstract is called the *Ponenza*. One of the cardinals called the *relater*, or *ponente*, is generally named to report upon it and to lead the discussion, and the result of the deliberations of the congregation appears in the answer given to each of the questions proposed for discussion. In some cases it is thought advisable to have the opinion of some qualified person, and his *vote* is printed with the *ponenza*. Upon this account many of the congregations have a body of consultors, to one or all of

whom matters of difficulty may be sent for their opinion, but if any other canonist or theologian enjoys a reputation for knowledge upon the points under consideration, his vote may be asked. The *ponenza* is distributed to the cardinals eight or ten days before the day of meeting, and each of them is allowed to take the opinion of any person in his confidence upon it, and hence each cardinal receives two copies of the *ponenza*, and has usually one or two *uditores* with whom he discusses their contents. The deliberations of the assembled cardinals are submitted to the Pope by the secretary, and in some cases the congregation is held in the presence of his Holiness. Any one who will take the trouble to turn over the Bullarium of Benedict XIV., will be struck with the number of places where the words occur, *In congregatione coram nobis habita, ipsam congregationem coram nobis agendam curavimus, &c.*

When the judgment of the congregation has been duly sanctioned by the Pope, it is published in the form of a decree or rescript, duly sealed and signed by the prefect and secretary, or by the latter only, and in the absence of the prefect by another cardinal of the congregation. But in matters of greater consequence, a brief or bull is issued upon the subject. Unless the decision appear in an authentic form, legal credit is not given to it; and hence readers of papal bulls may have observed that towards their close a clause is often inserted, declaring that copies duly signed are to be received as of equal force with the original. Benedict XIV. recommended parties to apply to the various congregations for copies, authenticated by the prefect and secretary, of decisions issued by them. (*De Synodo, Præf.*) Sometimes the decision is given in the form of a communication made by the Pope to a cardinal or prelate, and is often headed with the words, *Ex Audientia Sanctissimi habita die — mensis, 184—*. Although in decisions emanating from any of the sacred congregations, and published as their acts, the signatures of both prefect and secretary are given, in order to make the document containing them authentic, it has been ruled that a decision is to be considered authentic whenever a credible witness declares that he has received orders from the Pope to publish it. The reason of this ruling is evident to any one who considers that the force of the decision is derived from his sanction, and as long

as the parties are satisfied by the evidence of any person deputed to publish the decision, that it has really been given by him, no further opposition can be made. Upon his election, however, each Pope issues rules, styled the *Regulæ Cancellariæ*, and by one of them it is declared, that certain commissions granted by the Pope are of no avail, unless they are authenticated by a formal bull or brief.

A more difficult question is raised by theologians as to the degree of weight which is to be attached to the decisions of the Sacred Congregations. In order to understand this question, it is well to recollect that the congregations never pronounce upon either general or abstract points, but upon real cases only, in their concrete shape, and like the judgments of our own courts at Westminster, they do not contain new enactments, but merely declarations and explanations of existing laws. It is sufficiently clear that they make laws for the particular case to which they belong, but writers differ as to their applicability to similar cases. If the cases are identical, no lawyer would question their force; if the decisions are to be construed as precedents, with a wider application, and as explanatory of points of law previously undetermined, some think that those only are obligatory which have been issued by the express order of the Pope, whilst others admit that if they have been quoted by writers, and have grown into general use, they must be received as law. But Benedict XIV. invariably considers a question to be ended, when, after having stated the arguments upon all sides, he produces one of these decisions upon the subject. It is to be regretted, however, that other writers have not always followed his exactness in giving the terms of the decisions to which they refer, and hence their deductions cannot be always admitted. Moreover, it must be remembered that the decisions are always given upon actual cases, and before we require others to assent to our reasonings from them, we must be sure that all the facts and circumstances which were before the congregation have been fairly weighed by us.

The documents which emanate from the congregations are of three kinds: orders given in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff for the government of the Church, or of particular bodies or dioceses, decisions upon litigated subjects, and favours or dispensations. When conflicting claims of

parties are to be discussed, the matter assumes a judicial form; each party is allowed to have the assistance of an advocate, and the allegations and replies are sent to the cardinals who have to judge the case. The advocates attend upon each cardinal to answer questions or to offer additional explanations, but no one is allowed to be present at the meeting of the congregation itself.

There is no appeal from the decision; but if the secretary sees fit to grant a re-hearing, he is allowed to do so. When the cardinals think that their judgment ought to be considered final, they add the words *et amplius* at the end of their sentence, the effect of which is to prevent a re-hearing without the consent of the prefect or the leave of the Pope. In some cases the cause is conducted according to strict legal forms, *juris ordine servato*, whereas, in other matters, extra-judicial documents and information may be considered. The decision is usually given by the simple words *affirmative* and *negative*; but if there be reason to avoid a formal sentence, the words *ad mentem* are substituted, and the *mind* of the congregation guides the officers in making out an answer, but is not always made known to the parties in full. The word *dilata* implies that the decision or the discussion is deferred from want of time, or on account of the difficulty of coming to a determination, or with a view to allow time for an amicable arrangement. When a judgment has been formally confirmed, the mouth of the parties is closed, and no discussion can be again raised without a rescript styled *aperitionis oris*.

The causes are generally headed by the title of the diocese to which the parties belong, and of their subject, and in quoting the decision by these titles the name of the court is added, as *S. R. C. in Alatrina Confraternitatio* 13 Jun. 1790; *S. C. C. in Ferentina Parœciæ* 14 Mart. 1785. By the initials are meant *Sacra Rituum Congregatio* and *Sacra Congregatio Concilii*; thus also *S. C. EE et RR* means *S. Congreg. Episcoporum et Regularium*.

The days of the week on which congregations meet in ordinary course, are:

Monday. Consistory, Index, Propaganda, and Indulgences.

Tuesday. Immunities, Anti-preparatory, Preparatory, and General of Rites.

Wednesday. Inquisition.

Thursday. Inquisition before the Pope, Apostolic Visitation, *Fabbrica di S. Pietro.*

Friday. Bishops and Regulars.

Saturday. Council.

There is a short vacation at Easter and Christmas, and the long vacation is from the beginning of October to the middle of November.

The meetings are usually held between the hours of 9 and 12, in the palace where the Pope is residing for the time being; but the Congregation of the Inquisition meets in the Convent of the Minerva, and that of Propaganda at the palace of the same name, before the entrance of which the splendid carriages and gay liveries often strike the attention of English visitors. Special congregations are held at any hour at the house of one of the members or before the Pope. The Inquisition meets every week, the leading congregations once a month, and the others when business requires. In Lent and Advent the cardinals attend the sermon at the papal palace, and before the Lenten sermon (every Friday) the congregation of bishops and regulars meets.

Each cardinal soon after his promotion is appointed to four congregations, and others may be assigned to him afterwards, but he does not vote at the first meeting after his appointment to a congregation. Besides the permanent congregations, special ones are appointed as occasion requires; and when it is stated that the cardinals living in Rome seldom amount to forty, and that all the business of the many congregations must be discharged by them, few will think their office a sinecure. Some have the additional burthen of a bishopric, and all are expected to attend the consistory and the ceremonies of the papal chapel. Besides the Sacred Congregations for ecclesiastical matters, other congregations are charged with the direction or administration of various branches of the civil government. Hence, no one will be disposed to envy their lot, or to wish for a share in honours that are accompanied with so much responsibility; and perhaps we may be inclined to wonder how so much business is transacted in Rome, and not why it seems to proceed so slowly. Again, these congregations and tribunals are necessary for the despatch of the many weighty affairs which are carried to the Apostolic See; and yet a complaint is sometimes made if fees are required upon documents issued by some

of the congregations, as if fees were not necessary for keeping up the offices where those documents are to be prepared and discussed, and as if, without such offices, the Pope could alone receive and answer in the course of many years the petitions and disputes which reach him in as many weeks. Indeed, ought we not to wonder how one man can support the burthen which he bears so lovingly?

Portamus onera omnium qui gravantur, said his predecessor, St. Siricius; and how is it possible that, without support from Him whose Vicar he is, he can endure the ever-renewed labour of hearing day by day and hour by hour, the petitions and the complaints of the least as well as of the greatest of the many millions who acknowledge his paternal sway? To his throne come the last sighs of the martyrs of China, and the first lisps of the newly-baptized natives of the South Sea Islands; the Synods of America and the Bishops of Hungary send to him their decrees; to him the benighted children of Central Africa stretch out their hands for missionaries. To him the anxious questions which have divided the learned are referred; and when the voice of Peter speaking through him is heard, all are silent, and all disputes are at an end. To him the weakest and the greatest alike turn, and each receives an answer; and full often, when the season of repose has come, he must wake up and attend to those who are knocking without, for he knows no time for rest, and even in the still midnight the Pope has gone, or has been summoned to dispense the treasures which are in his keeping. After the great Pontiff, Benedict XIV., had received the viaticum, and when he was expecting the moment of death, he summoned the usual officers, and ordered the decree approving the heroic virtues of St. Francis de Girolamo to be published.

Nor are the weekly audiences granted to the secretaries for the affairs of each congregation a matter of mere form; the details of each petition are made known to him, and upon each he gives a special opinion, and states the conditions, and often the terms of the answer which is to be sent. Those who know and feel the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the government and teaching of the Church, will not wonder when they are told, that it frequently happens that points which have escaped the clear-sighted members of the congregations, occur to Popes who have had few opportunities of studying the subjects upon which

they arise; and at other times the Popes have wisely rejected or amended the judgments which had been adopted by the ordinary tribunals, and their determination has been hailed with gratitude and applause. But we are wandering from the task which we had undertaken, of describing the functions of each congregation, and yet we scarcely feel willing to offer an excuse when we consider how lightly the labours of the congregations are spoken of by those who have not had an opportunity of considering the patience, the application, and the wisdom of those learned and holy men who assist the Sovereign Pontiff in the government of the Church. Who shall tell of the assiduity with which they devote themselves to duties, of which upon earth they can seldom see the result or reap the glory? with what kindness and affability they receive the statements of all who apply to them, and listen to the suggestions and information of those whose experience or local knowledge can assist their deliberations?

For the sake of clearness, we may take all the offices established for the affairs of the Church under the general name of Congregations, although they are properly of three kinds, *Congregazioni*, *Tribunali*, and *Segreteria*. Perhaps we ought to explain that the Sacred College, when complete, consists of six cardinal bishops, fifty of the order of priests, and fourteen of the order of deacons. When they meet for the election of the Sovereign Pontiff, their assemblage is styled the *Conclave*, from the severe enclosure observed, and their proceedings are regulated by ancient canons and by the later constitutions of the Popes. These may be found in a small volume entitled *Ceremoniale continens ritus electionis Romani Pontificis*.

When the cardinals residing near the Pope are all summoned to his presence, their meeting is, as we have said, termed the *Consistory*; and when a decision is to be given with great solemnity, the bull containing it is signed by the Pope and all the cardinals. Such is the bull of Pius IV. confirming the Council of Trent, and such are the bulls for the canonization of saints, which are found in the Bullarium. To the public consistory all are admitted. It is held for certain proceedings respecting canonizations, and for giving the hat to cardinals. The *semi-public* consistory is composed of cardinals, and of patriarchs and bishops, and in it their vote is taken respecting the final

steps in the canonizations. The *secret* consistory, which is usually meant when the consistory is mentioned, is assembled for the purpose of enabling the Pope to state his opinions upon matters of great moment, and the allocations of Gregory XVI. respecting the affairs of Russia and Spain, and the noble declaration of Pius IX. against making war, are well known. At times the cardinals deliberate with the Pope, as when a constitution was to be granted to the subjects of the Papal States. All nominations to bishoprics in kingdoms subject to catholic sovereigns, and to the bishopric of Malta, are made in the consistory. When a bishop has been selected, a process is compiled, containing from the statements of credible witnesses an account of the vacant see and its position and resources, and of the qualities of the candidate. Abstracts of these processes, styled *propositiones*, are given to the cardinals before the day of assembly. Petitions for the pallium are presented by archbishops elect in the consistory. For some of the proceedings of the consistory, the assistance of consistorial advocates is required.

As the Pope usually reserves to himself the prefecture of the consistorial congregation, and that of the inquisition and apostolic visitation, we will take them first.

I. *Consistorial*. Sixtus V. instituted the consistorial congregation as an appendage to the consistory, for the purpose of examining and preparing the matters upon which the decrees of the consistory were to issue; such as the erection of new dioceses, the division, union, or suppression of existing dioceses, resignations tendered by bishops, elections to episcopal and other dignities, the qualifications of candidates proposed for bishoprics, concession of the pallium, and permission to bishops to retain benefices otherwise incompatible with their bishoprics, dispensations from impediments to the episcopate. The secretary of this congregation is declared by the cardinals secretary of the sacred college, and as such he enters the conclave, and acts as secretary of state, *sede vacante*.

II. *Inquisition*. Questions respecting the origin and antiquity of the inquisition have been discussed by the learned, as by Manriquez in the *Annales Cistercienses*, Echard de Script. Ordinis Prædic., and by the Bollandists. During the middle ages, the local inquisitions in different kingdoms transmitted accounts of their proceedings to the Pope, and sometimes a cardinal was appointed

to receive them and forward decisions respecting them. Thus, the Cardinal of St. Nicholas held this office in 1263 under Urban IV.; Cardinal Orsini was appointed to it by his relative, Nicholas III.; and Cardinal William by Clement IV.; (*Pegna Direct. Inquis.* part 3, *Paramus de Orig. Inquis.* tit. 2, c. 2.) The duties discharged by one cardinal in earlier times, were committed by Paul III. in 1542, by the bull *Licet ab initio*, to six cardinals. The bull was confirmed by Pius IV. and St. Pius V., and in the constitution *Immensa*, 118, by Sixtus V., who increased the number of cardinals composing it. This congregation is styled of the Holy Office, or of the Roman and Supreme Inquisition. One of the cardinals acts as secretary, but the ordinary business is transacted by a prelate with the title of Assessor, and by a commissary, who is a Dominican, and is assisted by ecclesiastics and by members of his order. To these may be added the notary under whose signature the decrees are published, and the public prosecutor and the counsel of the accused. *There is a large body of consultants, chosen from the secular and regular clergy.* The consultants meet every Monday morning at the palace of the S. Congregation, and the cardinals on Wednesday at the convent of the Dominican Fathers already mentioned. The proceedings are conducted with great care and prudence, and in proportion to the importance of the subjects discussed is the diligence with which the materials for discussing them are prepared; and the learning and talent of the persons chosen to examine them are worthy of the high standing which the members of the congregation enjoy. To the inquisition are referred all questions connected with points of faith, and likewise subjects involving the moral duties, where the latter are not sent to the Penitenzieria. Thus, some of our readers may have remarked that decisions respecting usury and magnetism have been given by the inquisition. The inquisition examines and punishes those guilty of heresy, blasphemy, abuse of the sacraments, pretended sanctity, and other grievous crimes which imply disbelief and contempt of the teaching of the Church. The resolutions of the cardinals are reported to the Pope every Wednesday evening, and if the congregation meets in his presence, Thursday morning is appointed for the purpose. Many of the decrees of the inquisition may be found in the work of Cardinal Albizi, *de Inconstantia in*

Fide, a copy of which is lent to each consultor. Upon the proceedings in criminal cases, a small work, *Della punizione degli eretici*, was published in Rome in 1795. Dr. Kenrick speaks of it as being compiled by one thoroughly conversant with the tribunal. The decree for the condemnation of the well-known propositions upon moral and dogmatical subjects which occur in the works of theologians, and upon which we have an express treatise by Viva, were published under Alexander VII., Alexander VIII., and the Ven. Innocent XI., in the Congregation of the Inquisition. From their heading we learn that it met before the Pope in their times upon Thursday, as at present.

It has been intimated that questions of conscience are sometimes sent to the inquisition, although the Penitenzieria is the ordinary tribunal for them; and as these and other congregations must possess a concurrent jurisdiction upon kindred subjects, it has been wisely decreed that the congregation which has been first applied to (*præventa*), shall decide upon the petition (*S. C. Concilii in Sutrina*, 15 July, 1780); and that a favour obtained from one court after refusal by another, shall be null and void. But if a question should happen to arise, which is within the peculiar province of another congregation, the opinion of the latter may be taken upon it. It is well to mention in this place, that all the business of countries subject to sovereigns who are not catholic, is sent in the first instance to the Congregation of Propaganda, by which it is either determined or forwarded to other congregations, and the answers of these are returned to the Propaganda for transmission to the parties.

The obligation of secrecy in the inquisition and in other congregations, as in the Penitenzieria and congregation of Ecclesiastical Affairs Extraordinary, is very strict. Devoti observes, that secrecy is essential to good success in government, *Rerum bene gerendarum anima arcanum est*, (lib. iv. tit. 8.) In some congregations, secrecy is imposed for particular subjects only; in others it is universal. When a theologian is chosen by a cardinal or prelate as his adviser, he is bound by oath or otherwise to the same secrecy as his principal. Benedict XIV. in his youth was, he tells us, assistant to Caprara, auditor of the Pieta, and studied the causes of the Congregation of Rites under him.

* *III. Apostolic Visitation.* Every bishop is obliged to perform the visitation of his diocese, and the Popes have not failed to urge the fulfilment of this duty by example as well as by precept. On some occasions they have opened a special visitation; but to ensure the attention of the clergy to the care of the churches of Rome, to the celebration of the Masses enjoined by benefactors, and to other duties, the Congregation of the Visitation has been appointed as a permanent board. In the vestries of the city a list of obligations of Masses, duly signed by a member of it, must always be kept; and in the month of November a book containing a copy of them must be presented at the office for approval; and in the April of each year by the exhibition of this book, signed by the priests who have applied Masses for the intentions specified in it, proof is given of the fulfilment of obligations during the past year. Notice of legacies *ad causas pias* must be given within fifteen days to the Sacred Congregation.

IV. Council. Soon after the Council of Trent, Pius IV. appointed a congregation composed of eight cardinals, of whom St. Charles Borromeo was one, to enforce the observance of its decrees, and to superintend the execution of them; and Sixtus V. authorized them, under the sanction of the Pope, to interpret the disciplinary decrees. Hence the congregation is called, "*Sacra Congregatio Cardinalium Concilii Tridentini interpretum*," and its powers were explained by Sixtus V. in the bull *Immensa*. This congregation is more numerous at present. In the list of secretaries the great names of Altovitti, Fagnanus, and Benedict XIV. are to be found. When the last-mentioned Pontiff was secretary, he introduced the custom of inserting in the cause-sheet distributed to cardinals a reference to earlier decisions of the congregation, and to the opinions of eminent canonists which seemed to bear upon each case. To prepare the materials for the congregation, a number of young men meet once a week under the superintendence of the secretary, and study the cases that are pending. Benedict XIV. was the first secretary who published the decisions of the congregation in a collected shape, under the title of "*Thesaurus Resolutionum S. C. Concilii*," and the four first volumes were composed by him. The series, beginning with the year 1718, has been continued to the present time. It is to be regretted

that the decrees and decisions anterior to 1718 have never been published together. Benedict XIV. tells us, that the references to them in his own invaluable work, *De Synodo Diocesano*, and in those of his predecessor, Fagnanus, may be relied on. An index to all the decisions to the time of Pius VII. was published by Monsignore Zamboni in eight volumes, under the following title, "Collectio Declarationum S. C. Cardinal. S. Concilii interpretum," but it is now scarce. This venerable prelate once mentioned to us, that he had abandoned, from want of funds, his wish to publish the earlier decisions. Before the formal business of this and other congregations commences, and after the prayer, *Adsumus, Domine*, has been read, petitions of minor importance are discussed, *per summaria precum*, as they are styled. A few of these decisions have been published.

The powers given to the cardinals are exercised in various ways. They revise the decrees of provincial synods, and determine upon appeals against diocesan synods, decide upon causes respecting invalidity of marriages or religious professions (upon these see the Constitutions *Dei miseratione* and *Si datam* of Benedict XIV.) examine questions respecting the residence of parish priests, the rejection of candidates at a concursus for benefices, public impediments to orders, the duties of chapters, and reduction of Masses. Amongst the faculties usually granted by the Pope to the congregation to be used in his name, are the following:—to admit a proctor for bishops who cannot visit Rome personally; to extend the time for this visit; to absolve those who omit it; to change the times and places at which Masses were to be said; to extend to members of chapters the time of ordination; to enable priests to say the Mass of our Blessed Lady, or for the Dead, when defective sight prevents them from saying the usual Mass, or to say the Mass *de Passione*, when unable from ill health to say the Masses containing the Passion, in Holy Week; to dispense from the Statutes of Confraternities, &c. For the regulation of causes brought before this congregation, the Prefect, Cardinal Ostini, has issued an instruction recently.

Annexed to this congregation are three others:—one composed of the prefect, secretary, and a few cardinals, *on the state and erection of Seminaries*; and another *on the residence of Bishops*. This was instituted by Urban

VIII. by the Bull "Sancta Synodus," in 1634, and revived by Benedict XIV. "Constit. ad Universæ," 1746, for the purpose of deciding questions upon the obligation of residence, leave of absence for special motives, &c. The Pope is usually prefect of it, but the Cardinal Vicar acts as his representative. Of the third congregation annexed to that of the council, we now proceed to speak.

By the constitution, "Romanus Pontifex," Sixtus V. required all bishops to visit the *Limina Apostolorum* at certain intervals, and to present an account of their dioceses to the Holy See. This law was declared by Clement XII. to apply to the six cardinal bishops usually resident in Rome; and Benedict XIV. ordered all prelates enjoying quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over a separate territory to observe the same law, (Const. "Quod Sancta," Nov. 27, 1740.) The celebrated canonist Fagnanus gave a list of the points of which their report ought to treat (in "Cap. Ego N. de jurejurando"), and it was copied by Van Espen, (part i. tit. xv. c. 2.) But as no formulary for the guidance of bishops in drawing up their reports had been published by authority, Benedict XIII., in the Roman Council of 1725, ordered one to be prepared, and the task of compiling it fell to the secretary of the Congregation of the Council, Lambertini, afterwards Benedict XIV. It consists of questions classified under different heads, and Benedict XIII. at once enjoined its use by all bishops. The relations presented by bishops, or in their name, were formerly reviewed by the congregation of the Council; but for greater expedition, Benedict XIV. in 1740, by the Bull "Romanum Pontificem," instituted a congregation of prelates by whom they were to be examined, and suitable observations respecting their contents were to be prepared. That great Pontiff wished the prelates to meet on several occasions in his presence. As this congregation is directed by the cardinal prefect and by the secretary of the congregation of the Council, to which it is an appendage, it is styled familiarly in Italian the *Concilietto*. The prelates meet from time to time, and read their reports upon the episcopal statements, and the secretary for Latin letters has the duty of composing the letters which are to be sent in reply to the bishops. The Benedictine instruction may be seen in the Bullarium of Benedict XIV. and in his work "De Synodo," the thirteenth

book of which is principally devoted to an explanation of it.

V. *Rites*. Amongst the fifteen congregations erected by Sixtus V. in 1588, the Congregation of Rites was appointed to attend to proceedings connected with the beatification and canonization of servants of God, to cause the ceremonies of the Church to be exactly performed, and the rites used in the administration of the Sacraments and all other portions of the Liturgy to be diligently observed. The extraordinary perseverance and great talents of Benedict XIV. have left their impress upon this congregation, as well as upon every other with which he was connected. He held the important office of promoter of the Faith, whose duty obliges him to watch all causes of beatification and canonization, and oppose obstacles and objections to their progress. The study which he went through in the execution of this duty enabled him to collect the materials for his immortal work, "*De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione*." In it all details of procedure are carefully discussed, and the caution and prudence of the Church are discernible in every page. As an abstract of the work has been given by the Rev. F. Faber, we need not speak of the immense erudition displayed in it, and the interest it cannot fail to excite.

The *ordinary* Congregation of Rites examines questions upon the Liturgy, and an authentic collection of its decrees from 1602 was commenced, under the title of "*Decreta authentica Congregationis S. S. Rituum*," at Rome in 1824, by Monsignore Gardellini, sub-promoter of the Faith under Pius VII. and Leo XII. It has been continued to the year 1835, and has reached the beginning of the eighth volume. For general use, the "*Manuale Ecclesiasticorum*," a collection of the more practical decrees, was published some years since by F. Bartholomew a Clantio. A new edition of it, with many improvements, by Monsignore Martinucci, Papal Master of Ceremonies, was published in Rome in 1845.

Minor questions connected with beatification or canonization are treated of in the ordinary congregation. Before a servant of God can be beatified, the question of his martyrdom or of the heroicity of his virtues is examined in three *extraordinary* congregations,—the first, styled the *ante-preparatory*, is held before the cardinal relater

of the cause, and the consulters alone vote upon it; they vote again in the *preparatory* congregation, held before the cardinals of the full congregation; and, lastly, both cardinals and consulters vote in the *general* congregation held before the Pope. The miracles alleged to have been wrought through his intercession, must pass through the same ordeal. In like manner, after beatification two other miracles must be examined in these three meetings, before the canonization can take place.

VI. *Ecclesiastical affairs extraordinary*. Pius VII. considering that, after the troubles caused by the French revolution, many difficult questions would be sent from different parts of the world upon points not strictly within the range of duties belonging to the existing congregations, instituted this congregation in 1814, for the purpose of assisting the Pope in the decisions to be given respecting them.

VII. *Reverenda Fabbrica di S. Pietro*. This congregation, in its present form, was established principally by Clement VIII., and its privileges have been confirmed in our times by Pius VII. and Gregory XVI. Its duty is to determine causes connected with St. Peter's and its dependencies; and to watch over the fulfilment of charitable bequests, with power to apply in favour of the Basilica those made to undetermined persons, or generally left for conscience sake, or annulled from illegality in the purpose of the bequest or incapability on the part of those for whom it was intended. Amongst the ordinary powers granted to the secretary at the beginning of every pontificate, are the following:—to commute the time and altars fixed for the fulfilment of bequests for Masses; to transfer for a time obligations of celebrating Mass to another church with the consent of parties interested, and provided no inconvenience be thence derived to the people; to reduce the number of obligations according to the *taxa synodalis*; to substitute other land or property in lieu of that appointed by the testator, provided the burthens imposed upon that originally granted be duly borne. The secretary can also, for valid reasons, grant a commutation in lieu of omissions of fulfilment of bequests, provided they have not been contrived with a view to obtaining such commutation. The style of procedure in judicial cases was explained in 1835 in a despatch written by order of Gregory XVI. to the cardinal prefect.

VIII. *Ecclesiastical Immunities.* The encroachments of the civil power frequently obliged the Holy See to use authority and censures in cases of infringement of the rights of the Church, and against the abuse of drawing ecclesiastical causes and persons to lay tribunals. The Congregation of Bishops and Regulars was originally charged with the duty of watching over the immunities of the Church, but a congregation of prelates was afterwards appointed for this purpose; and, in 1626, Urban VIII. erected the present congregation, composed of cardinals and of members of the principal tribunals and congregations. The resolutions of the congregation were published by Ricci, abbot-general of the Cistercians at Turin, with the following title, "Synopsis, Decreta, et Resolutiones S. C. Immunitatis." This congregation is under the patronage of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the glorious defender of ecclesiastical rights and immunities, and in his honour the cardinals and members of it assist at a solemn High Mass in the chapel of the English College on his festival. The congregation obtained from Gregory XVI. a decree of the Congregation of Rights, by which the Office of St. Thomas was raised to the rank of a double in the Papal States.

IX. *Regular Discipline.* The institution of the Congregation of Regular Discipline is attributed to Innocent X. It was confirmed by Clement IX., and regulated by Innocent XII. Whilst causes respecting religious women are referred to the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, the Disciplina watches over all institutes of men as to their interior discipline, and as to the fulfilment of their obligation of enclosure, the establishment of convents of severe observance, and noviciates. By an order made in 1833, Gregory XVI. regulated the respective attributions, and the concurrent (cumulativa) or separate (privativa) jurisdiction of this congregation, and that of bishops and regulars.

X. Pius IX. has named a congregation *Super statu regularium*, with some of the duties originally committed to this congregation.

XI. *Examination of Bishops.* Bishops of sees in Italy, and the adjacent islands, must undergo an examination before the Pope, who is assisted by the cardinals and theologians of the Congregation for the Examination of Bishops. The congregation consists of two classes, one

for canon law and the other for theology. The candidate chooses the faculty according to his previous studies and acquirements, and he is examined by a cardinal and by a consulter. Cases have occurred of candidates unsuccessful in their examination, who were in consequence not promoted. If the candidate be approved, he is then styled bishop elect, and is afterwards proclaimed in the consistory for his see. It is mentioned in the "Life of St. Francis of Sales," that a Spanish bishop who was to have been examined on the same day with him, died of fear with which the thought of the examination filled him.

XII. *Index.* The learned Francis Zaccaria, in his "Storia polemica della privilegione dei libri," Rome, 1777, shows that from the earliest times the Church has exhorted her children to avoid the reading of wicked books, and to imitate the example of the faithful of Ephesus, who burnt their books even to the value of fifty thousand pieces of silver (Acts xix. 19); and we find that in the third century the works of Origen were sent to St. Pontian for condemnation. A letter was sent to St. Innocent I. by five bishops in Africa, praying that the books of Pelagius might be consumed. The same power was exercised by St. Leo and by St. Gregory the Great, as well as by other pontiffs in later times. The invention of printing rendered the diffusion of books more easy, and the fifth Council of Lateran, under Leo X., expresses the solicitude of the Church that an art capable of rendering such signal advantage to religion should be kept within proper bounds, lest with the good evil also might be disseminated. The zealous pontiff, Paul IV., directed the Congregation of the Inquisition to compile an *Index*, or list of forbidden books; and the same duty was committed to a commission by the Council of Trent, with the approbation of the Holy See. The list composed by the commission was published by Pius IV. in 1564. His successor, St. Pius V. (not Sixtus V., as some imagine) instituted the Congregation of the Index for the purpose of continuing the list. ("Ruell. Saggio dell' Istorie dell' Indice Romano.") The congregation has a body of consulters, and the constitution, *sollicita et provida*, was issued for its guidance by Benedict XIV. in the year 1753. Additions are made to the Index from time to time by the publication of new decrees. The congregation gives permission for the reading of prohibited books. The celebrated scholar, Cardinal

Mai, is now prefect of the Index, and the secretary is always a Dominican, as one of the order held a similar office in the Council of Trent. Sometimes books are condemned by the Sovereign Pontiff by a special brief, and sometimes by the Congregation of the Inquisition. The Index was printed in 1835, and again in 1841, with the addition of several decrees of Clement VIII., Benedict XIV., and Leo XII. When a book is printed in Rome, it is examined by a censor deputed by the Master of the Sacred Palace, a Dominican, and if the former signs it with the words, *Nihil obstat*, leave is given for its publication by the Master and by the Vicegerent of Rome. It has been declared by Alexander VII., that similar leave is required for works sent from Rome to be published elsewhere; and the recent Paris edition of "*Leibnitz, Systema Theologicum*," bears the *Imprimatur* of the Master of the Sacred Palace.

XIII. *Correction of Books of the Oriental Church.* In 1631, Philip IV. of Spain and Sicily represented to Pope Urban VIII., that an incorrect edition of the Greek Euchology had been published by schismatics, which was likely to be injurious to his Sicilian subjects belonging to the Catholic Greek church. A congregation was appointed for the correction of the Euchology, and F. Petavius, S. J., and Morinus of the Oratory, both well known for their learned works, were invited to assist. It was revived under the title of "Congregation for the correction of Books of the Oriental Church," by Clement XI., and subsequently by Benedict XIV., who gives an account of his labours in the encyclical *Ex quo primum*, March 1st, 1756. He caused the Euchology to be printed at the Propaganda Press. Subsequently, other books used by various oriental nations were corrected by the congregation. During the reign of Gregory XVI. the congregation examined the acts of the Synod of Kurkafa, held by the Greek Melchites in 1806, which were condemned by the brief, *Melchitarum*, Sept. 16, 1835.

XIV. *Indulgences and Relics.* Clement VIII. instituted a temporary congregation for the purpose of executing the decrees of his predecessors respecting indulgences; and Clement IX. in 1669 rendered it permanent, with the power of issuing and explaining rescripts of indulgences granted by the Holy See, of examining concessions formerly published, and of forbidding the dissemination of

false decrees and grants of indulgences. The congregation is likewise authorized to prevent the showing of respect to false relics, or to the relics of those whose sanctity is not recognized by the Holy See. An abstract of the indulgences granted to those who possess crucifixes, beads, and medals, blessed by the Holy Father, is published at the beginning of each pontificate. It is also to be found in the useful work, "*Raccolta delle Indulgenze*," of which so many editions have been published in Rome and elsewhere. The concessions enumerated in it have been declared authentic by the Sacred Congregation, but there are many others not contained in it which are likewise authentic. The twelfth edition is in course of preparation. It will contain later grants, but to render it less bulky, the short historical notices of the origin of various devotions, which make the other editions so interesting, will be omitted. Faculties with regard to indulgences are possessed by the Offices of Briefs and Memorials, and by the Propaganda.

XV. *Propaganda Fide*. The preaching of the Faith amongst unbelievers has always been an object of tender care to the popes, and no one who has read the history of the Church has failed to observe innumerable proofs of their zeal for the conversion of distant or newly-discovered nations. The immortal pontiff, Gregory XIII. (1572), founded the English, Greek, and other Colleges in Rome, in order to supply missionaries to various nations which had fallen away from the Faith, and he printed catechisms in different languages, as well as other works which were likely to be useful to them. He appointed a congregation to co-operate with him in propagating the Faith, but the great congregation which now exists was established by Gregory XV. in 1622, by the constitution *Inscrutabili*. For its support he ordered a fee of five hundred gold crowns (reduced by Pius VII. to six hundred silver crowns) to be paid by every cardinal on receiving his ring. He further ordered other offices to deliver documents and faculties to the congregation *gratis*. Urban VIII. erected the celebrated Urban College of Propaganda, for the education and training of missionaries for all parts of the globe. Many of our priests and prelates have in that college formed friendships with students who have since preached the Gospel in distant lands, and have commanded the respect, and even the love, of thousands. During

the Octave of the Epiphany the students recite compositions in their own language; and some of our readers with delight have heard the tinkling accents of Chinese, and the open tones of the American of the Far West, and the rough gutturals of the Chaldee, and the manly notes of the German, mingling with the voices of those who for one day loved to utter sounds dearer to them than the noblest sentences of Cicero or the sweetest periods of Herodotus. But to a Catholic mind, and to a Catholic heart, more pleasing still is the thought that the members of the youthful groups collected from the east and the west, the north and the south, are to return after a time to their own countrymen—the savage boy of Australia to his wild brethren, the Arab to his father's home under the palm near the well; whilst some will go to the rising cities of North America, or to the once fabulous marts of Calcutta and Bombay, or to some of the countless islands of the southern hemisphere; and wherever they may be, they will still work out the unceasing accomplishment of the words of St. Paul to the Romans of his day, *Fides vestra annuntiatur in universo mundo*. To the foresight and munificence of the pontiffs and of this congregation the world is indebted for this splendid institution, and within the present century the Cardinals of York, Di Pietro, Consalvi, and Della Somaglia have been its benefactors.

The congregation, as we have mentioned, is charged with the regulation and superintendence of the ecclesiastical affairs of every kingdom and place (Malta excepted) not subject to a Catholic sovereign. To understand the extent and variety of its duties, it will be sufficient to consider that all the details of business, which for Catholic kingdoms are divided amongst many congregations, are carried to the Propaganda, and are either directly or mediately settled there. It is divided, strictly speaking, into four branches:—the chief one for ecclesiastical matters; another to superintend the economy and temporal interests of the congregation; a third to direct the printing department; and the fourth, originally formed by Alexander VII., upon the affairs of China.

The Bullarium of Propaganda, containing briefs and constitutions as far as the year 1715, was published in 1745, and a later edition, comprising the same matter and later decrees as far as the time of its publication under Gregory XVI., was printed in five volumes, together with two

volumes of appendix, containing earlier decrees omitted in their own place.

XVI. *Bishops and Regulars.* Sixtus V. instituted a congregation for the affairs of bishops and of the secular clergy, and another regarding religious; but under Clement VIII. the union already begun under Sixtus of both congregations was completed, and they now form the Congregation styled "*Super consultationibus et negociis Episcoporum et Regularium.*" Whilst the congregation of the Council proceeds by juridical forms, this congregation, says Cardinal de Luca, is not bound by them, and exercises a discretionary power according to circumstances and in conformity with the maxims of ecclesiastical government laid down by the councils. The powers of the congregation are very extensive; and to it is committed the decision of appeals in criminal cases from bishops' courts, according to the rules of Benedict XIV., Pius VII., and Gregory XVI.; the revision of the rules of new orders, the foundation of religious houses, alienation of church property in cases of evident advantage to the Church, questions of privilege and jurisdiction respecting regulars, enclosure of convents, rights to benefices, &c. Various decrees concerning the style and practice of this congregation were published under the title of "*Collectanea in usum S. C. E. E. et R. R.*," in 1836.

Next to the congregations, the *Segreteria* must engage our attention. The word *segreteria* is used to designate the office where the business of each congregation is transacted, and it is also used, as we mean to use it, to express certain offices not subject to any congregation, but established for the despatch of business of various kinds under the direction of their respective heads. The *Segreteria di Stato* transacts all diplomatic business with foreign states, and this is necessarily of a religious rather than of a political character in most instances. The quasi-private correspondence of the Pope, such as the acknowledging of presents, answers to complimentary letters, &c., is conducted by the *Latin Secretary*, and when the parties addressed enjoy a certain rank, by the Secretary of Briefs *ad principes viros*. The latter has likewise the duty of composing Allocutions, addressed to the consistory. The *Segreteria de' Memoriali* receives, classifies, and sometimes answers memorials addressed to the Holy Father; and so much has the business of this office increased, that

it was calculated a short time since that forty-three thousand petitions had passed through it in the course of the present pontificate, and some months previously their number had exceeded that of three other reigns. Of the *Segreteria de' Brevi* we must speak more at length. It is well known that the most important decrees of the Pope are issued in the form of a *bull*, written on dark parchment in a peculiar character, and sealed with lead. Less important decrees or concessions, not requiring so much solemnity, appear in the form of *briefs*, which are written on white parchment in an ordinary character, and sealed in red wax with the ring of the Fisherman. Again, the year in the former is calculated from the 25th of March to the same day in the following year, and the date is expressed in the Roman style. Hence, on the 1st of February, 1849, bulls will still run *Kalend. Februar.* 1848. In *briefs* the date is calculated in the usual way. The original draft of *brief* is signed by the pope with the word *Placet*, and the additional of the initial of his christian name. Thus his Holiness signs "*Placet J. M.*," as his name is John Mary. The *brief* copied from the original is signed by the Cardinal Secretary of Briefs, or by his substitute. A *bull* commences with the words, "*Pius episcopus, servus servorum Dei;*" and in the heading of a *brief* the form is, "*Pius P. P. IX. ad perpetuam rei memoriam,*" or if the *brief* be personal, "*Dilecte Fili salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*" In the *briefs* of Clement XI. addressed to personages who were not Catholics, the words "*Lumen Divinæ Gratiae*" occur. When the Pope has published in the consistory a promotion to the episcopal dignity, a document attesting the fact, and styled the *cedola concistoriale* is issued by the *Segreteria de' Brevi*, signed by the Pope, "*Ita est, Pius IX.*," and by the Cardinal Secretary of Briefs. Various faculties are granted to the Cardinal Secretary of Briefs, who is empowered to use them as circumstances may require, without immediate reference to the Pope. Gregory XVI. ordered the surplus from fees received in the office to be divided into one hundred dowries of twenty crowns each, to be given at Easter and Christmas every year to poor orphans, and to be placed for their benefit in the savings' bank.

The *Tribunals* are numerous, but we can venture to mention only the principal of them, which have duties

connected with the government of the Church. The Cardinal Vicar has a tribunal composed of different officers for the despatch of the ecclesiastical business of the diocese of Rome, and of a body of examiners, of confessors, and of candidates for parishes or for orders, &c. The practice of his court is described by Honorante, in his "*Praxis Vicariatus*." The *Rota* is composed of twelve judges chosen from different kingdoms, of which England was formerly one. Its jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters was formerly more extensive, and its decisions are always quoted with respect in the congregations. They are styled "*Causarum palatii Apostolici auditores*."

The *Penitenzieria* is under the direction of the Grand Penitentiary, assisted by several prelates with the titles of canonist, theologian, &c. To his tribunal are referred difficult cases of conscience, which are discussed in the meeting of the prelates held every fortnight, and styled the *Segnatura*. During Holy Week the tribunal meets at one of the patriarchal churches, and the cardinal sits in the confessional to hear such as may apply to him. The Cardinal Penitentiary assists the Pope on his death-bed, and he is sometimes sent to give the papal blessing to cardinals when dying. The faculties of the tribunal are very extensive for reserved cases, dispensations, &c., and are enumerated by Benedict XIV. in the constitution, *Pastor Bonus*. During the conclave these powers pass to the *Segnatura*. On the subject of dispensations in general, the "*Praxis Dispensationum*" of Pyrrhus Corradus is highly esteemed.

The *Cancelleria* expedites bulls according to the nominations made in consistory, or upon grants issuing from the *Dataria*. We have already mentioned the *regulæ cancellariæ*, which are published at the commencement of every pontificate for its government. Many commentaries have appeared upon these rules, but the work which is most esteemed is Riganti's "*Commentaria Regulæ Cancellariæ*," Rome, 1744, and Cologne, 1751. The latter edition is preferred. On the eve of the consistory the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor receives the sheets of the nominations which are to issue in it; from these decrees are formed by one of his officers in a book which is carried by the cardinal into the consistory in a bag of red or purple damask, and as each nomination is declared by the Holy Father, the cardinal draws a red line with a pencil below

the corresponding decree in his book. He afterwards delivers an authentic certificate of the decree, and upon this the *cedola concistoriale* is signed by the Pope and by the Secretary of Briefs, and is returned to the chancery for the formal bull. The Vice-Chancellor receives the oaths of fidelity of bishops, auditors of the Rota, and other dignitaries. It may be noticed, that in bulls addressed to the brothers or nephews of sovereigns, the seal is of gold; and the last bull sealed in this way was that of the nomination of Cardinal Ranieri, brother of the Emperor Francis I., to the see of Olmütz, June 4, 1819. Upon the seals of bulls are impressed the name of the Pope, and the heads of SS. Peter and Paul. The seal hangs from a string of white silk when the bull regards nominations to bishoprics, of red and yellow in the case of minor nominations, of hemp in matrimonial dispensations, and of gold and silver when the bull bears a gold seal. Bulls and briefs are dated from the Basilica nearest to the Pope's residence for the time being. As Pius IX. usually resides at the Quirinal, his bulls are dated, "Apud S. Mariam Majorem." Since 1187 no one has held the title of Chancellor.

The *Dataria* derives its name from the word *dare*, or from the *dates* which its officers affix to papal concessions. Through it issue matrimonial dispensations *in foro externo*, collations of benefices, abbeys, and other ecclesiastical nominations and pensions in the Pope's gift. If questions arise upon rights involved in them, they are determined in the *Dataria* itself, or are forwarded to the Rota, or Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, for an opinion upon them. The practice of the office has never been clearly explained by canonists, although some useful information about it may be gathered from the work of Riganti on the Chancery. A very complete work, under the title of "*De Datarie Apostolicæ jure universo*," began to appear in Rome under Clement XIII., but for some unexplained reason only one hundred and twenty-six pages of it were published. It is thought that it was the production of Riganti, who was Sub-datary under Benedict XIV., and who received the most ample powers during the illness of that illustrious Pontiff. Until the close of the last century, the Cardinal Pro-datary, who presides over this tribunal, always had an early audience in order

that the Popes might begin the day by the granting of a favour.

The fees received in this office are distributed in various ways. After certain charges for the expenses of the office have been deducted, pensions are paid to religious establishments, communities, and colleges, to the penitentiaries at St. Peter's and St. John Lateran, to poor families, to bishops, prelates, ecclesiastics, agents of bishops, &c. Some of the sacred congregations and tribunals are aided from its funds, some of which are likewise paid over to the Pope's almoner for distribution, and another portion is set apart for excavations in the catacombs, and for expenses incurred in extracting the bodies of martyrs from those holy resting-places.

Before we close our account, we ought to mention that the congregations and tribunals do not usually give effect to their decrees or dispensations, but leave them to the bishop or to the ordinary courts for execution. In this respect their orders resemble our royal rescript, *Let right be done*, which is left to the ordinary tribunal for its legal effect.

Even in this brief account of the Sacred Congregations, our readers cannot have failed to appreciate the profound wisdom of the Popes who have instituted and directed them. The regulation of their respective attributions must depend in a great measure upon the foresight and intelligence of the Pontiff, and upon him also must depend the choice of the cardinals who compose them, and the prelates and advisers who assist their deliberations. The affairs which are brought before them require much penetration, and learning, deep, varied, and extensive. The works of Benedict XIV. show the versatility of talent and the diligent application which are needed in the congregations; and although he smoothed the way for those who were to follow him, difficult questions still spring up. As long as the world lasts such questions will not be wanting, and amongst the men who are now collected round the chair of St. Peter, we shall find many displaying erudition worthy of earlier times, a penetration suited to their station, and an abundant store of traditionary wisdom which lawyers prize so highly, maxims of government received from eminent men now no more, rules proved by the success of many trials. It was our lot to know amongst them in the late Cardinal Acton one whom

unceasing application bore to an early grave, who had brought to the arduous offices committed to him discernment and ability such as few have, a keen sense which enabled him to reach the merits of cases upon which the *greatest lawyers had been employed, a profound knowledge of theology, and an extensive acquaintance with the canons of the Church and the constitutions of the Popes, as well as with civil and criminal law.* It was the delight of his intimate friends—of Gregory XVI., who tenderly loved him; of Cardinal Polidori, who admired his learning; and of *Cardinal Lambruschini, under whom his diplomatic career was commenced—to turn to him in cases of more than usual importance; his opinions were given speedily, although deep thinking and much anxiety had gone before; and they were expressed with surprising clearness and copiousness of illustration.*

When he spoke in the congregations, he was eager and full of energy; and until he had stated every argument, and discussed every objection, he was not silent. Many heard of his virtues and of his alms-deeds, but few understood the great qualities, natural and acquired, which he possessed. He was dear to the royal family of France, he was esteemed and honoured by the court of Naples; and Gregory XVI. chose him to be his companion on that memorable day, when he opposed to the Autocrat of Russia the stern power of truth and the overwhelming majesty of the Apostolic See; and whilst we may believe that the recollections of that interview were neither dear nor welcome to the emperor, he did not conceal the satisfaction with which he had viewed the choice of the Holy Father.

Our readers will kindly forgive us for indulging at the close of these pages an affectionate remembrance of one so well versed in the subjects here detailed, who in the midst of splendour and dignity would talk of his own land, and of the home of his youth, and of the aged priest, still living, who prepared him for his first communion, and of our excellent prelates, some still spared to us, others now with God, who had been his friends or his directors. If the many and voluminous notes which he composed upon matters referred to him could be produced, another proof would be given, if such proof could be necessary, of the learning of which the Popes avail themselves in the decision of the smallest, as well as of the weightiest questions which are submitted to them.

ART. V.—*Visits to Monasteries in the Levant.* By the Hon. ROBERT CURZON, JUN. One Vol. 8vo. London: Murray, 1849.

THE Levant has been tolerably well explored of late years. There are few parts of it into which some European tourist has not penetrated, frequently with the avowed object of writing and publishing the results of his tour. It was hard to expect, therefore, that an author so late in the field as Mr. Curzon, should be able to bring forward much that had escaped the research of so many industrious predecessors: at most it could only be hoped, that *novelty of style or greater accuracy of observation might impart new interest to what was already familiar.* Nevertheless, his volume will be found to contain much that has hitherto been but little known, and its principal subject is not only of considerable interest, but is in some respects entirely new.

Mr. Curzon's "*Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*" were begun about the years 1833 and 1834, and, if we may rely on his modesty, the account now presented to the public was not committed to paper for a considerable time afterwards. There are parts of the present volume, particularly in the earlier pages, that differ in nothing, not even in manner, from the ordinary book-making of Eastern tourists. The portion, however, which sustains the title prefixed to the volume, will deserve and repay a more attentive perusal. We can easily discover that the author, though he nowhere openly confesses his malady, was labouring at the time under the well-known disease called *Bibliomania*. But the precise form of the malady under which he laboured, was not that which may be cured by the common and ordinary supplies of "the trade," but that more aristocratic one which craves after the expensive luxuries of literature, and can be appeased but by vellum manuscripts with illuminated capitals, and venerable with the antiquity of a thousand years. This is a passion that votaries of slender purses must be excused for good and obvious reasons from indulging; but an English gentleman, with plenty of English gold, good recommendations,

—and what recommendation, in such a case, can be better than the gold?—and with a fair share of zeal and perseverance in the cause, may gratify it not only with impunity, but with success. It were well that these elements of success were always employed in the pursuit of objects as harmless, if not as meritorious. It was in the pursuit of old books and MSS., that Mr. Curzon visited some of the most celebrated monasteries of the East, that were a little out of the way of travellers. He hoped that the seclusion and conservative character of these establishments had preserved uninjured many of the literary remains of the middle ages; and in this hope, as we shall now perceive, he was not disappointed.

And yet the causes that perhaps conduced more than all to preserve these remains of antiquity, were the want of a market, and an unconsciousness of their value. In this unconsciousness, the Greek monks contrast most disadvantageously with the Latin convents. We are sure that in no part of the Latin Church could the following incident be recorded of the inmates of any religious community.

“A Russian, or I do not know whether he was not a French traveller, in the pursuit, as I was, of ancient literary treasures, found himself in a great monastery in Bulgaria, to the north of the town of Cavalla; he had heard that the books preserved in this remote building were remarkable for their antiquity, and for the subjects on which they treated. His dismay and disappointment may be imagined, when he was assured by the agoumenos, or superior of the monastery, that it contained no library whatever, that they had nothing but the Church books and liturgies, and no *palaia pragmata*, or antiquities, at all. The poor man had bumped upon a pack-saddle over villanous roads for many days for no other object, and the library of which he was in search had vanished as the visions of a dream. The agoumenos begged his guest to enter with his monks into the choir, where the almost continual Church Service was going on, and there he saw the double row of long-bearded holy fathers shouting away at the chorus of *Kyrie Eleison*, *Christe Eleison*, which occurs almost every minute in the ritual of the Greek Church. Each of the monks was standing, to save his bare legs from the damp of the marble floor, upon a great folio volume which had been removed from the conventual library, and applied to purposes of practical utility in the way which I have described. The traveller, on examining these ponderous tomes, found them to be of the greatest value; one was in uncial letters, and others were full of illuminations of the earliest date; all these

he was allowed to carry away in exchange for some footstools or hassocks, which he presented in their stead to the old monks; they were comfortably covered with felt, and were in many respects more convenient to the inhabitants of the monastery than the manuscripts had been, for many of their antique bindings were ornamented with bosses and nail-heads, which inconvenienced the toes of the unsophisticated congregation who stood upon them without shoes for so many hours in the day. I must add, that the lower halves of the manuscripts were imperfect, from the damp of the floor having corroded and eaten away their vellum leaves."—
p. xxiv.

The author, while relating the above story, states at the same time that he cannot vouch for the truth of it, but gives it as a true representation of the literary attainments of the Oriental monks. We trust, for their sakes, that it is an exaggerated one. The great disparity between them and the communities of the Latin communion may be at once discovered from the fact, that of no Latin convent could such a story be told with any semblance of probability. It is, no doubt, this utter unconsciousness of their real value that has led in very many instances to their preservation.

Mr. Curzon's first visit, as far as we may so speak from the materials before us, was to the monasteries of Egypt; and the result of his researches in the Coptic convent of Souriani in Nitria, we find described in the following extract. Before we give the words, however, we have to premise, that we shall draw copiously on the pages before us, and we have no doubt our readers will readily pardon the copiousness of our extracts in consideration of the interesting nature of the matter they contain.

"In the evening I returned to Souriani, where I was hospitably received by the abbot and fourteen or fifteen Coptic monks. In the morning I went to see the church and all the other wonders of the place, and on making enquiries about the library, was conducted by the old abbot, who was blind, and was constantly accompanied by another monk, into a small upper room in the great square tower, where we found several Coptic manuscripts. Most of these were lying on the floor, but some were placed in niches in the stone-wall. They were all on paper, except three or four. One of these was a superb MS. of the Gospels, with commentaries by the early fathers of the Church; two others were doing duty as coverings to a couple of large open pots or jars, which had contained preserves long since evaporated. I was allowed to purchase these

vellum manuscripts, as they were considered to be useless by the monks, principally, I believe, because there were no more preserves in the jars. On the floor I found a fine Coptic and Arabic dictionary. I was aware of the existence of this volume, with which they refused to part. I placed it in one of the niches in the wall; and some years afterwards it was purchased for me by a friend, who sent it to England, after it had been copied at Cairo. They sold me two imperfect dictionaries, which I discovered loaded with dust upon the ground. Besides these, I did not see any other books but those of the liturgies for various holidays. These were large folios on common paper, most of them of considerable antiquity, and well begrimed with dirt.

"The old blind abbot had solemnly declared, that there were no other books in the monastery beside those which I had seen; but I had been told by a French gentleman at Cairo, that there were many ancient manuscripts in the monks' oil cellar, and it was in pursuit of these and the Coptic dictionary, that I had undertaken the journey to the Natron lakes. The abbot positively denied the existence of these books, and we retired from the library to my room with the Coptic manuscripts, which they had ceded to me without difficulty; and which, according to the dates contained in them, and from their general appearance, may claim to be considered among the oldest manuscripts in existence.

"The abbot, his companion, and myself sat down together. I produced a bottle of rosoglio from my stores, to which I knew that all oriental monks were partial; for though they do not, I believe, drink wine, because an excess in its indulgence is forbidden by Scripture, yet ardent spirits not having been invented in those times, there is nothing said about them in the Bible; and at Mount Sinai, and all the other spots of sacred pilgrimage, the monks comfort themselves with a little glass, or rather a small coffee cup, of arrack or raw spirits, when nothing better of its kind is to be procured. Next to the golden key which masters so many locks, there is no better opener of the heart than a sufficiency of strong drink.—not too much, but exactly the proper quantity judiciously administered. I have always found it to be invincible; and now we sat, sipping our cups of the sweet pink rosoglio, and firing little compliments at each other, and talking pleasantly over our bottle, till some time passed away, and the face of the blind abbot waxed bland and confiding; and he had that expression on his countenance which men wear when they are pleased with themselves, and bear goodwill to mankind in general. I had, by the bye, a great advantage over the good abbot, as I could see the workings of his features, and he could not see mine, or note my eagerness about the oil cellar, on the subject of which I gradually entered. 'There is no oil there,' said he. 'I am curious to see the architecture of so ancient a room,' said I; 'for I have heard that yours is a famous oil cellar.' 'It is a famous oil cellar,' said

the other monk. 'Take another cup of rosoglio,' said I. 'Ah!' replied he, 'I remember the days when it overflowed with oil, and there were then I do not know how many brethren here with us. But now we are few and poor; bad times are come over us, we are not what we used to be.' 'I should like to see it very much,' said I; 'I have heard so much about it even at Cairo. Let us go and see it, and when we come back we will have another bottle, and I will give you a few more which I have brought with me for your private use.'

"This last argument prevailed. We returned to the great tower, and ascended the steep flight of steps which led to its door of entrance. We then descended a narrow staircase to the oil cellar, a handsome vaulted room, where we found a range of immense vases which formerly contained the oil, but which now, on being struck, returned a mournful hollow sound. There was nothing else to be seen; there were no books here; but taking the candle from the hands of one of the brethren, (for they had all wandered in after us, having nothing else to do,) I discovered a narrow low door, and pushing it open, entered into a small closet vaulted with stone, which was filled, to the depth of two feet or more, with the loose leaves of the manuscripts, which now form one of the chief treasures of the British Museum."—p. 84.

Among the rubbish of this old oil cellar the author succeeded in discovering a manuscript of very great antiquity, bearing a date so early as 411, and which contained some of the lost epistles of St. Ignatius. Circumstances prevented his becoming the owner of it at the time; but it has been since purchased, and is now deposited among the manuscripts of the British Museum.

Within the walls of this Convent of Souriani, besides the Coptic community, there existed also one of Abyssinian monks, living according to its own rule, and performing the divine office and liturgy according to its own rite. As the habits of these monks are but little known, the following account will not be unacceptable. Our author relates that the two convents were on terms of the greatest intimacy.

"While I had been standing on the top of the steps, I had heard from time to time some incomprehensible sounds, which seemed to arise from among the green branches of the palms and fig-trees in a corner of the garden at our feet. 'What,' said I to a bearded Copt, who was seated on the steps, 'is that strange howling noise which I hear among the trees? I have heard it several times, when the rustling of the wind among the branches has died away for a moment. It sounds something like a chant, or a

dismal, moaning song ; only it is different in its cadence from any thing I have heard before.' 'That noise,' replied the monk, 'is the sound of the service of the Church, which is being chaunted by the Abyssinian monks. Come down the steps, and I will show you their chapel and their library. The monastery which they frequented in this desert has fallen to decay, and they now live here, their numbers being recruited occasionally by pilgrims on their way from Abyssinia to Jerusalem, some of whom pass by each year ; not many now to be sure, but still fewer return to their own land.'

"Giving up my precious manuscripts to the guardianship of my servants, and desiring them to put them down carefully in my cell, I accompanied my Coptic friend into the garden, and turning round some bushes, we immediately encountered one of the Abyssinian monks, walking with a book in his hand under the shade of the trees. Presently we saw three or four more ; and very remarkable looking persons they were. These holy brethren were as black as crows ; tall, thin, ascetic looking men of a most original aspect and costume. I have seen the natives of many strange nations, both before and since, but I do not know that I ever met with so singular a set of men, so completely the types of another age, and of a state of things so opposite to European, as these Abyssinian ciemites. They were black, as I have already said, which is not the usual complexion of the natives of Habesh ; and *they were all clothed in tunics of wash leather, made, they told me, of gazelle skins.* This garment came down to their knees, and was confined round their waist with a leathern girdle. Over their shoulders they had a strap, supporting a case like a cartridge-box of thick brown leather, containing a manuscript book, and above this they wore a large shapeless cloak or toga, of the same light yellow wash leather as the tunic ; I do not think they wore anything on the head, but this I do not exactly remember. Their legs were bare, and they had no other clothing : if I may except a profuse smearing of grease ; for they had anointed themselves, not with the oil of gladness, but with that of castor, which, however, had by no means the effect of giving them a cheerful countenance."—p. 93.

Having, in a former number of this Review, gone at some length into the consideration of the doctrines and practices of the Abyssinian Church, we shall not dwell longer on this subject, however interesting, than merely to remind our readers, that the Abouna, or patriarch of the Abyssinian Church, is always procured from the Copts ; and that this circumstance alone, were there no others, would be sufficient to account for the friendly feeling that is here mentioned as subsisting between the two creeds.

In a literary point of view, the Abyssinian monks had much the advantage over the others. Their library was tolerably well stocked with books, considering the state of Abyssinian literature, and every one of the monks was able to read fluently his own language. In this respect they had a superiority over their Coptic brethren. Before we leave this subject, however, we must extract the following account of their mode of writing:

"The labour required to write an Abyssinian book is immense, and sometimes many years are consumed in the preparation of a single volume. *They are almost all written on skins; the only one not written on vellum that I have met with is in my own possession, it is on charta bombycina.* The ink which they use is composed of gum, lamp black, and water. It is jet black, and keeps its colour for ever; indeed, in this respect all oriental inks are infinitely superior to ours, and they have the additional advantage of *not being corrosive or injurious to the pen or paper.* Their pen is the reed commonly used in the East, only the nib is made sharper than that which is required to write the Arabic character. The inkhorn is usually the small end of a cow's horn, which is stuck into the ground at the feet of the scribe. In the most ancient Greek frescos and illuminations this kind of inkhorn is the *one generally represented, and it seems to have been usually* *inset into a hole in the writing desk; no writing desk is however in use among the children of Habesh.* Seated upon the ground, the square piece of thick, greasy vellum is held upon the knee or in the palm of the left hand.

"The Abyssinian alphabet consists of 8 times 26 letters,—208 characters in all; and these are each written distinctly and separately, like the letters of an European printed book. They have no cursive writing, each letter is therefore painted as it were with the reed pen, and as the scribe finishes each, he usually makes a horrible face, and gives a triumphant flourish with his pen. Thus he goes on letter by letter, and before he gets to the end of the first line he is probably in a perspiration from his nervous apprehension of the importance of his undertaking."—p. 99.

Having explored the monasteries of Nitria, our author determined to ascend the Nile, and visit such convents as may be on his route. Several of these are situated in most strange and inaccessible positions. In troubled times, and among barbarous men, the difficulty of access constituted their chief, perhaps their only protection. Of this nature is the convent of the Virgin, more commonly known as the Convent of the Pulley.

"This monastery is situated on the top of the rocks of Gebel el Terr, where a precipice above two hundred feet in height is washed at its base by the waters of the Nile. When I visited this monastery on the 19th of February, 1838, there was a high wind, which rendered the management of my immense boat, above 80 feet long, somewhat difficult, and we were afraid of being dashed against the rocks, if we ventured too near them in our attempt to land at the foot of the precipice. The monks, who were watching our manoeuvres from above, all at once disappeared, and several of them made their appearance on the shore, issuing in a complete state of nudity from a cleft or cave in the face of the rock. These worthy brethren jumped one after another into the Nile, and assisted the sailors to secure the boat with ropes and anchors from the force of the wind. They swam like Newfoundland dogs, and finding that it was impossible for the boat to reach the land, two of the reverend gentlemen took me on their shoulders, and wading through a shallow part of the river, brought me safely to the foot of the rock. When we got there, I could not perceive any way to ascend to the monastery, but, following the abbot, I scrambled over the broken rocks to the entrance of the cave. This was a narrow fissure, where the precipice had been split by some convulsion of nature, the opening being about the size of the inside of a capacious chimney. The abbot crept in at a hole in the bottom: he was robed in a long, dark blue shirt, the front of which he took up and held in his teeth; and telling me to observe where he placed his feet, he began to climb up the cleft with considerable agility. A few preliminary lessons from a chimney-sweep would now have been of the greatest service to me; but in this branch of art my education had been neglected, and it was with no small difficulty I climbed up after the abbot, whom I saw striding and sprawling in the attitude of a spread eagle above my head. My slippers soon fell off upon the head of a man under me, whom, on looking down, I found to be the reis, or captain of my boat, whose immense turban formed the whole of his costume. At least twenty men were scrambling and puffing underneath him, most of them having their clothes tied in a bundle on their heads, where they had secured them when they swam or waded to the shore. Arms and legs were stretched out in all manner of attitudes, the forms of the more distant climbers being lost in the gloom of the narrow cavern up which we were advancing, the procession being led by the unrobed ecclesiastics. Having climbed up about 120 feet, we emerged in a fine perspiration upon a narrow ledge of rock on the face of the precipice, which had an unpleasant slope towards the Nile. It was as slippery as glass; and I felt glad that I had lost my shoes, as I had a firmer footing without them. We turned to the right, and climbing a projection of the rock seven or eight feet high—rather a nervous proceeding to those who are unaccustomed to it—we gained a more level space, from which a short, steep pathway

brought us to the top of the precipice, whence I looked down with *much self-complacency upon my companion, who was standing on the deck of the vessel.*"—p. 105.

The tradition of the inmates affirms that this convent was founded by the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, and the architecture seems to be of very great antiquity. *It is partly subterranean, being built in what seems to have been the excavation of an ancient quarry.* The Church is built on the principle of the Roman Basilica, and has nothing but its very great antiquity to recommend it to the notice of the tourist. *The convent itself is a well-protected enclosure, and the space within the walls is not inhabited exclusively by monks.* There is a small colony of persons—men, women, and children—who have in all probability taken refuge within the walls from the violence of the barbarous tribes that occasionally infest the neighbouring country. The library was poor, and if it contained books of any value, they were carefully concealed from the eye of the inquisitive stranger.

The Honourable Mr. Curzon visited some other monasteries on the banks of the Nile, of which the White Monastery is the most remarkable. It is now in ruins, with the exception of the Baptistery and some other apartments, but from the magnitude of the ruins, it must have been in the most magnificent style of early Christian architecture. Three poor monks are now the surviving representatives of a once numerous and flourishing community. We would willingly give the author's account of its present condition, but having given more than due space to his account of the Egyptian convents, we must pass on to others equally deserving of attention.

From Egypt our author takes his readers rather abruptly, and sets them down at the very gates of Jerusalem. His account and description of the Holy Sepulchre are excellent and in good taste, and very differently from many of his countrymen, he is disposed to speak reverently of the Christian traditions of the several localities. He was present at the ceremonies of Holy Saturday, on the occasion of that dread catastrophe when 300 persons were crushed to death by the crowd, suffocated by the smoke and confined air, or trampled under foot by the dense mass of people struggling to escape out of the

church. Ibrahim Pasha, who was there also, was preserved only by the most active exertions of his attendants. Two hundred more were seriously injured. But our purpose is not with these details already known, and we accompany him to the Monastery of Saint Sabba.

"This monastery, which is a very ancient foundation, is built on the edge of the precipice, at the bottom of which flows the brook *Kedron, which in the rainy season becomes a torrent. The buildings, which are of immense strength, are supported by buttresses so massive, that the upper part of each is large enough to contain a small arched chamber; the whole of the rooms in the monastery are vaulted, and are gloomy and imposing in the extreme. The pyramidal-shaped mass of buildings extends half-way down the rocks, and is crowned above by a high and stately square tower, which commands the small iron gate of the principal entrance. Within there are several small irregular courts, connected by steep flights of steps and dark arched passages, some of which are carried through the solid rock.*

"The church is rather large, and is very solidly built. There are many ancient frescos painted on the walls, and various early Greek pictures are hung round about; many of these are representations of the most famous Saints, and on the feast of each his picture is exposed upon a kind of desk before the iconostasis, or wooden partition which divides the church from the sanctuary and the altar, and there it receives the kisses and oblations of all the worshippers who enter the sacred edifice on that day.

"The iconostasis is dimly represented in our older churches by the rood-loft and screen, which divides the chancel from the nave; it is retained also in Lombardy, and in the Sees under the Ambrosian rule; but these screens and rood-lofts, which destroy the beauty of a cathedral or any large church, are unknown in the Roman churches. They date their origin from the very earliest ages, when 'the discipline of the secret' was observed, and when the ceremonies of the communion were held to be of such a sacred and mysterious nature, that it was not permitted to the communicants to reveal what then took place—an incomprehensible custom, which led to the propagation of many false ideas and strange rumours as to the Christian observances of the third and fourth centuries, and was one of the causes which led to several of the persecutions of the Church, as it was believed by the heathens, that the Christians sacrificed children, and committed other abominations, for which they deserved extermination.

"In one part of the church I observed a rickety ladder leaning against the wall, and leading up to a small door about ten feet from the ground. Scrambling up this ladder, I found myself in the library of which I had heard so much. It was a small, square

room, or rather a large closet, in the upper part of one of the enormous buttresses which supported the walls of the monastery. Here I found about a thousand books, almost all manuscripts, but the whole of them were works of divinity. One volume, in the Bulgarian or Servian language, was written in uncial letters; the rest were in Greek, and were for the most part of the twelfth century. There were a great many enormous folios of the works of the Fathers, and one MS. of the Octateuch, or first eight books of the Old Testament. It is remarkable, how very rarely MSS. of any part of the Old Testament are found in the libraries of Greek monasteries; this was the only MSS. of the Octateuch that I ever met with, either before or afterwards, in any part of the Levant. There were about a hundred other MSS. on a shelf in an apsis of the church. I was not allowed to examine them, but was assured that they were liturgies and church books, which were used on the various high days during the year."—p. 201.

"The discipline of the secret," as observed in the early Christian churches, may seem to our author an incomprehensible custom, because he refuses to admit the doctrine of the Real Presence, which will afford a full and satisfactory explanation. To those who reject that explanation, no doubt the iconostasis and rood-screen, as well as the secret, which they once exemplified, will be reckoned perfectly incomprehensible. We are surprised that our author does not allude to the Real Presence as an explanation, even though he may not have admitted its truth; and we consider his silence on this matter as a tacit and implied admission, that the iconostasis of the ancient churches is a convincing proof that the Catholic doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist was that which prevailed when such ornaments, or rather such necessary appendages, were employed to screen from profane and unbelieving eyes the holiest of mysteries.

From the monasteries of the Holy Land, we pass to those at Meteora in Thessaly, close by the classic vale of Tempe. They were visited by Mr. Curzon in the autumn of 1834. The country of Albania, through which he had to pass from Corfu, which was his starting-point, was at this period in a very unsettled state, and the wild warriors by whom it is inhabited were in open rebellion against the Porte. Our author tells the story of his many escapes with much humour, but as we have much to say about the monasteries of this out of the way, yet interesting

locality, we are reluctantly obliged to pass them over, and refer our readers to the author's pages; but before we enter the monasteries, let us take a glance at the scenery of Meteora.

"It is of a very singular kind. The end of a range of rocky hills seems to have been broken off by some earthquake, or washed away by the deluge, leaving only a series of twenty or thirty tall, thin, smooth, needle-like rocks, many hundred feet in height; some like gigantic tusks, some shaped like sugar loaves, and some like vast stalagmites. These rocks surround a beautiful grassy plain, on three sides of which there grow groups of detached trees like those of an English park. Some of the rocks shoot up quite clean and perpendicularly from the smooth green grass; some are in clusters; some stand alone like obelisks; nothing can be more strange and wonderful than this romantic region, which is unlike anything I have seen, either before or since. In Switzerland, Saxony, the Tyrol, or any other mountainous region where I have ever been, there is nothing at all to be compared to these extraordinary peaks.....

"On the tops of these rocks, in different directions, there remain seven monasteries out of twenty-four which once crowned their airy heights. How any thing except a bird was to arrive at one which we saw in the distance on the pinnacle of a rock, was more than we could divine; but the mystery was soon solved. Winding our way upwards, among a labyrinth of smaller rocks and cliffs, by a romantic path which afforded us from time to time beautiful views of the green vale below us, we at length found ourselves on an elevated platform of rock, which I may compare to the flat roof of a church, while the Monastery of Barlaam stood perpendicularly above us on the top of a much higher rock, like the tower of this church. Here we fired off a gun, which was intended to answer the same purposes as knocking at the door in more civilized places; and we all strained our necks in looking up at the monastery, to see whether any answer would be made to our call. Presently we were hailed by some one in the sky, whose voice came down to us like the cry of a bird; and we saw the face and grey beard of an old monk some hundred feet above us, peering out of a kind of window or door."

After some parleying between the traveller and the monk, in which the latter displayed considerable distrust of the Albanian escort that accompanied our author,

"He, at length," he says, "let down a cord, to which I attached a letter of recommendation which I had brought from Corfu; and after some delay a much larger rope was seen descending, with a

hook at the end, to which a strong net was attached. On its reaching the rock on which we stood, the net was spread open; my two servants sat down upon it, and the four corners being attached to the hook, a signal was made, and they began slowly ascending into the air, twisting round and round like a leg of mutton hanging to a bottle-jack. The rope was old and mended, and the height from the ground to the door above was, as we afterwards learned, 37 fathoms, or 222 feet. When they reached the top, I saw two stout monks reach their arms out of the door, and pull in the two servants by main force, as there was no contrivance like a turning crane for bringing them nearer to the landing-place. The whole process appeared so dangerous, that I determined to go up by climbing a series of ladders, which were suspended by wooden pegs on the face of the precipice, and which reached the top of the rock in another direction round a corner to the right. The lowest ladder was approached by a pathway leading to a rickety wooden platform, which overhung a deep gorge. From this point the ladders hung perpendicularly on the bare rock, and I climbed up three or four of them very soon, but coming to one, the lower end of which had swung away from the top of the one below, I had some difficulty in stretching across from the one to the other; and here unluckily I looked down, and found that I had turned a sort of angle in the precipice, and that I was not over the rocky platform where I had left my horses, but that the precipice went sheer down to so tremendous a depth, that my head turned when I surveyed the distant valley over which I was hanging like a fly on a wall. The monks in the monastery saw me hesitate, and called out to me to take courage and hold on; and, making an effort, I overcame my dizziness, and clambered up to a small iron door, through which I crept into a court of the monastery, where I was welcomed by the monks and the two servants who had been hauled up by the rope."—p. 280.

The ascent to nearly all the monasteries of this region is effected in this style, or in one equally difficult and perilous. But, having accompanied our author in his ascent, let us see whether he was repaid for his toil by what he saw upon the summit.

"The monastery stands on the summit of an isolated rock, on a flat or nearly flat space of perhaps an acre and a half, of which about one-half is occupied by the church and a smaller chapel, the refectory, the kitchen, the tower of the windlass where you are pulled up, and a number of separate buildings containing offices and the habitations of the monks, of which there were at this time only fourteen. These various structures surround one tolerably large, irregularly shaped court, the chief part of which is paved, and there are several other small open spaces. All Greek monas-

teries are built in this irregular way, and the confused mass of disjointed edifices is usually encircled by a high bare wall; but in this monastery there is no such enclosing wall, as its position effectually prevents the approach of an enemy. On a portion of the flat space, which is not occupied by buildings, they have a small garden, but it is not cultivated, and there is nothing like a parapet wall in any direction to prevent your falling over. The place wears an aspect of poverty and neglect."—p. 286.

The church is not different from the ordinary Greek churches, and therefore furnishes nothing of peculiar interest. It has no sacristy. These almost indispensable appendages of a Latin church are said to be invariably wanting in the Greek. The vestments are kept in presses behind the rood-screen, where no one but the priests and the ministers of the sanctuary are allowed to enter, and these pass in and out by side doors.

"The library contains about a thousand volumes, the far greater part of which are printed books, mostly Venetian editions of ecclesiastical works, but there are some fine copies of Aldine Greek classics. I did not count the number of the manuscripts; they are all books of divinity and the works of the Fathers; there may be between one and two hundred of them. I found one folio Bulgarian manuscript, which I could not read, and therefore was, of course, particularly anxious to purchase. As I saw it was not a copy of the Gospels, I thought it might possibly be historical, but the monks would not sell it. The only other manuscript of value was a copy of the Gospels in quarto, containing several miniatures and illuminations of the eleventh century; but with this also they refused to part, so it remains for some more fortunate collector. It was of no use to the monks themselves, who cannot read either Hellenic or Ancient Greek; but they consider the books in their library as sacred relics, and preserve them with a certain feeling of awe for their antiquity and incomprehensibility."—p. 290.

At neither of the monasteries of this locality, could the author prevail on the monks to part with any of their valuable manuscripts; and he had to take his leave of the several communities with nothing to repay him for his toil and trouble but the gratification of his curiosity, and the consciousness of leaving these coveted treasures to the more successful efforts of some future traveller.

Our author next visited the celebrated monasteries of Mount Athos, called by the Greeks the Holy Mountain. Before he set out on his travels, however, he thought it

necessary or useful to procure a letter of recommendation from the Greek Patriarch. The account of the interview between the author and the patriarch will not a little enlighten our readers on the state of ecclesiastical communion between the Greek and Anglican churches.

"I had been for some time enjoying the hospitality of Lord and Lady Ponsonby at the British palace at Therapia, when I determined to put into execution a project I had long entertained of *examining the libraries in the monasteries of Mount Athos.* As no traveller had been there since the days of Dr. Clarke, I could obtain but little information about the place before I left England. But the Archbishop of Canterbury was kind enough to give me a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople, in which he requested him to furnish me with any facilities in his power in my researches among the Greek monasteries which owned his sway.

"Armed with this valuable document, one day in the spring of the year 1837, I started in a calque with some gentlemen of the embassy, and proceeded to the palace of the Patriarch in the Fanar—a part of Constantinople situated between the ancient city wall and the port so well known by its name of the Golden Horn. The Fanar does not derive its appellation from the word *fanar*, a lantern, or lighthouse, but from the two words *fena yer*, a bad place, for it is in a low dirty situation, where only the conquered Greeks were permitted to reside immediately after the conquest of their city by the Sultan Mahommed the II. The Palace is a large dilapidated shabby looking building, chiefly of wood painted black; it stands in an open court, or yard, on a steep slope, and looks out over some lower houses to the Golden Horn, and the hills of Pera and Galata beyond.

"After waiting a little while in a large dirty ante-room, during which time there was a scuffling and running up and down of priests and deacons, who were surprised, and perhaps a little alarmed, at a visit from so numerous a company of gentlemen belonging to the British embassy, we were introduced into a large square room, furnished with a divan under the windows and down two sides of the chamber.....The Patriarch himself entered the chamber shortly after our arrival. He appeared to be rather a young man, certainly not more than thirty-five years of age, with a reddish beard, which is uncommon in this country. He was dressed in purple silk robes like a Greek bishop, and took his seat in the corner of the divan, and said nothing, and stroked his beard as a Pasha might have done."

When the usual hospitalities of the eastern receptions had been gone through, they came to the business part of the ceremony.

"When we had smoked our pipes for awhile, and all the servants had gone away, I presented the letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was received in due form: and after a short explanatory exordium, was read aloud to the Patriarch first in English, and then translated into Greek.

" 'And who,' quoth the Patriarch of Constantinople, the supreme head and primate of the Greek Church of Asia—'who is the Archbishop of Canterbury?'

" 'What?' said I, a little astonished at the question.

" 'Who,' said he, 'is this Archbishop?'

" 'Why, the Archbishop of Canterbury.'

" 'Archbishop of *what*?' said the Patriarch.

" 'Canterbury,' said I.

" 'Oh,' said the Patriarch, 'Ah! yes! and who is he?'

" Here all my English friends and myself were taken aback sadly; we had not imagined that the High Priest before us could be ignorant of such a matter as the one in question.....

" We explained, and said that the Archbishop of Canterbury was *a man eminent for his great learning and his Christian virtues*; that he was the primate and chief of the great Reformed Church of England, and a personage of such high degree, that he ranked next to the blood royal; that from time immemorial the Archbishop was the great dignitary who placed the crown upon the head of our kings—those kings whose power swayed the destinies of Europe and the world; and that this present primate had himself placed the crown upon the head of King William IV., and that he would also soon crown our young Queen.

" 'Well,' replied the Patriarch, 'but how is that? How can it happen that the head of your Church is only an Archbishop? Whereas I, the Patriarch, command other patriarchs, and under them archbishops, archimandrites, and other dignitaries of the Church. How can these things be? I cannot write an answer to the letter of the Archbishop of—of—'

" 'Of Canterbury,' said I.

" 'Yes! of Canterbury, for I do not see how he, who is only an archbishop, can by any possibility be the head of a Christian hierarchy; but as you come from the British Embassy, I will give my letters as you desire, which will ensure your reception into every monastery which acknowledges the supremacy of the orthodox faith of the Patriarch of Constantinople.'

" He then sent for his secretary, that I might give that functionary my name and designation. The secretary accordingly appeared; and although there are only six letters in my name, he set it down incorrectly nearly a dozen times, and then went away to his hole in a window, where he wrote curious little memoranda at the Patriarch's dictation, from which he drew up the firman

which was sent me a few days afterwards, and which I found of great service in my visits to various monasteries."—page 333.

The letters were therefore given to the British Embassy, and not to "*the primate and chief of the great Reformed Church of England.*" The English gentlemen acted very prudently in not making any allusion, when enumerating the exalted privileges of the English Primate, to his amiable lady and her numerous offspring. If this circumstance had been brought before his notice, how he would have raised his eyes to heaven in amazement at the high dignity and exalted privileges of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Armed with this important document, there was little difficulty in gaining access to the monasteries of Mount Athos. These are very numerous, and all of very great antiquity. The monks are of the order of St. Basil, and are commonly called *Caloyers*.

"The word *Kaloyeri* means a good old man. All the monks of Mount Athos follow the rule of St. Basil; indeed, all Greek monks are of this order. They are ascetics, and their discipline is most severe; they never eat meat, fish they have on feast days; but on fast days, which are above a hundred in the year, they are not allowed any animal substance, or even oil; their prayers occupy eight hours in the day, and about two during the night, so that they never enjoy a real night's rest. They never sit down during prayer, but as the services are of extreme length, they are allowed to rest their arms on the elbows of a sort of stalls without seats, which are found in all Greek churches, and at other times they lean on a crutch. A crutch of this kind, of silver richly ornamented, forms the patriarchal staff. It is called the *patritza*, and answers to the crosier of the Roman Bishops. Bells are not used to call the fraternity to prayers, but a long piece of board, suspended by two strings, is struck with a mallet; sometimes instead of the wooden board a piece of iron, like part of the tire of a wheel, is used for this purpose. Bells are rung only on occasions of rejoicing, or to show respect to some great personage, and on the great feasts of the Church."—page 359.

The details of the architecture and internal arrangements of the several monasteries are too long to transfer to our pages, and we must refer our readers to the original work.

"I was informed," says our author, "that no female animal of any sort or kind is admitted on any part of the peninsula of Mount

Athos, and that since the days of Constantine the soil of the Holy Mountain had never been contaminated by the tread of a woman's foot. That this rigid law is infringed by certain small and active creatures, who have the audacity to bring their wives and large families within the very precincts of the monastery, I soon discovered to my sorrow, and heartily regretted that the stern monastic law was not more rigidly enforced; nevertheless I slept well on my divan, and the next morning at sunrise received a visit from the Agoumenos, who came to wish me a good day. After some conversation on other matters, I inquired about the library, and asked permission to view its contents. The Agoumenos declared his willingness to show me everything that the monastery contained. 'But first,' said he, 'I wish to present you with something excellent for your breakfast, and from the special goodwill that I bear towards so distinguished a guest, I shall prepare it with my own hands, and will stay to see you eat it, for it is really an admirable dish, and one not presented to all persons.' 'Well,' thought I, 'a good breakfast is not a bad thing,' and the fresh mountain air and the good night's rest had given me an appetite; so I expressed my thanks for the kind hospitality of my Lord Abbot, and he, sitting down opposite to me on the divan, proceeded to prepare his dish. 'This,' said he, producing a shallow basin half full of a white paste, 'is the principal and most savoury part of this famous dish; it is composed of cloves of garlic, pounded down with a certain quantity of sugar, with it I will now mix the oil in just proportions, some shreds of fine cheese, (it seemed to be of the white acid kind, which resembles what is called *caccia cavallo* in the south of Italy, and which almost takes the skin off your fingers, I believe), and sundry other nice little condiments, and now it is completed!' He stirred the savoury mess round and round with a large wooden spoon until it sent forth over room, and passage, and cell, over hill and valley, an aroma which is not to be described. 'Now,' said the Agoumenos, crumbling some bread into it with his large and somewhat dirty hands, 'this is a dish for an emperor! Eat, my friend, my much respected guest; do not be shy. Eat, and when you have finished the bowl you shall go into the library, and anywhere else you like; but you shall go nowhere until I have had the pleasure of seeing you do justice to this delicious food, which I can assure you you will not meet with everywhere.'

"I was sorely troubled in spirit. Who could have expected so dreadful a martyrdom as this? Was ever an unfortunate bibliomaniac dosed with such a medicine before? It would have been enough to have cured the whole Roxburghe Club from meddling with libraries and books for ever and ever. I made every endeavour to escape this honour. 'My lord,' said I, 'it is a fast. I cannot this morning do justice to this delicious viand; it is a fast, I am under a vow. Englishmen must not eat that dish in this month. It would be wrong. My conscience would not permit it,

though the odour certainly is most wonderful ! Truly an astonishing savour ! Let me see you eat it, O Agoumenos,' continued I, 'for behold I am unworthy of anything so good.' 'Excellent and virtuous young man !' said the Agoumenos, 'no, I will not eat it. I will not deprive you of this treat. Eat it in peace, for know that to travellers all such vows are set aside. On a journey it is permitted to eat all that is set before you, unless it is meat that is offered to idols. I admire your scruples ; but be not afraid, it is lawful. Take it, my honoured friend, and eat it, eat it all, and then we will go into the library.' He put the bowl into one of my hands, and the great wooden spoon into the other ; and in desperation I took a gulp, the recollection of which still makes me tremble. What was to be done ? Another mouthful was an impossibility ; not all my ardour in the pursuit of manuscripts could give me the necessary courage. I was overcome with sorrow and despair. My servant saved me at last ; he said, 'that English gentlemen never ate such rich dishes for breakfast, from religious feelings, he believed ; but he requested that it might be put by, and he was sure I would like it very much later in the day.' The Agoumenos looked vexed, but he applauded my principles, and just then the board sounded for church. 'I must be off, excellent and worthy English Lord,' said he. 'I will take you to the library, and leave you the key. Excuse my attendance on you there, for my presence is required in the church.' So I got off better than I expected, but the taste of that ladleful stuck to me for days. I followed the good Agoumenos to the library, where he left me to my own devices."—page 369.

As an instance of the value set upon books in some of those monasteries, we give the following incident related by the author. It happened in the monastery of Caracalla, at Mount Athos.

"The library I found to be a dark closet near the entrance to the church. It had been locked up for many years, but the Agoumenos made no difficulty in breaking the old-fashioned padlock by which the door was fastened. I found upon the ground and on some broken down shelves about four or five hundred volumes, chiefly printed books ; but amongst them every now and then I stumbled upon a manuscript ; of these there were about thirty on vellum, and fifty or sixty on paper. I picked up a single loose leaf of very ancient uncial Greek characters, part of the Gospel of St. Matthew, written in small square letters, and of small quarto size. I searched in vain for the volume to which this leaf belonged.

"As I had found it impossible to purchase any manuscripts at St. Laura, I feared that the same would be the case in other monasteries. However, I made bold to ask for this single leaf as a thing of small value.

"'Certainly,' said the Agoumenos, 'what do you want it for?'

"My servant suggested that, perhaps, it might be useful to cover some jam pots, or vases of preserves which I had at home.

"'Oh!' said the Agoumenos, 'take some more;' and without more ado he seized upon an unfortunate thick quarto manuscript of the Acts and Epistles, and drawing out a knife, cut an inch thickness of leaves at the end before I could stop him. It proved to be the Apocalypse which concluded the volume, but which is rarely found in early Greek manuscripts of the Acts; it was of the eleventh century. I ought perhaps to have slain the tomicide for his dreadful act of profanation, but his generosity reconciled me to his guilt, so I pocketed the Apocalypse, and asked him if he would sell me any of the other books, as he did not appear to set any particular value upon them.

"'Malista, certainly,' he replied, 'how many will you have? They are of no use to me, and as I am in want of money to complete my buildings, I shall be very glad to turn them to some account.'"—page 381.

The library of Iberon, or the Iberian monastery, affords a very favourable specimen of the libraries of Mount Athos.

"The library is a fine one, perhaps altogether the most precious of all those which now remain on the holy mountain.....I turned to in right good earnest to look for uncial manuscripts and unknown classic authors. Of these last there was not one on vellum, but on paper there was an octavo manuscript of Sophocles and a Coptic psalter with an Arabic translation—a curious book to meet with on Mount Athos. Of printed books there were, I should think, about five thousand—of manuscripts on paper about two thousand; but all religious works of various kinds. There were nearly a thousand manuscripts on vellum, and these I looked over more carefully than the rest. About one hundred of them were in the Iberian language; they were mostly immense thick quartos, some of them not less than eighteen inches square, and from four to six inches thick. One of these, bound in wooden boards, and written in large uncial letters, was a magnificent old volume. Indeed, all these Iberian or Georgian manuscripts were superb specimens of ancient books. I was unable to read them, and therefore cannot say what they were; but I should imagine they were church books, and probably of high antiquity. Among the Greek manuscripts, which were principally of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—works of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and books for the services of the ritual—I discovered the following, which are deserving of especial mention:—a large folio Evangelistarium, bound in red velvet, about eighteen inches high and three thick, written in magnificent uncial letters half an inch long, or even more. Three of the illuminations were the whole size of the page, and might almost be

termed pictures, from their large proportions; and there were several other illuminations of smaller size, in different parts of the book. This superb manuscript was in admirable preservation, and as clean as if it had been new. It had evidently been kept with great care, and appeared to have had some clasps or ornaments of gold or silver, which had been torn off. It was probably owing to the original splendour of this binding that the volume itself had been so carefully preserved. I imagine it was written in the ninth century.

"Another book, of a much greater age, was a copy of the four Gospels, with four finely executed miniatures of the evangelists. It was about nine or ten inches square, written in round semiuncial letters in double columns, with not more than two or three words in a line. In some respects it resembled the book of the Epistles in the Bodleian library at Oxford. This manuscript, in the original black leather binding, had every appearance of the highest antiquity. It was beautifully written, and very clean, and was altogether such a volume as is not to be met with every day.

"A quarto MS. of the four Gospels, of the eleventh or twelfth century, with a great many (perhaps fifty) illuminations. Some of them were unfortunately rather damaged.

"Two manuscripts of the New Testament, with the Apocalypse.

"A very fine manuscript of the Psalms, of the eleventh century, which is indeed about the era of the greater part of the vellum manuscripts of Mount Athos.

"There were also some ponderous and magnificently executed folios of the works of the Fathers of the Church—some of them I should think of the tenth century. The paper manuscripts were of all ages, from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries down to a hundred years ago, and some of them, on charta bombycina, would have appeared very splendid books, if they had not been eclipsed by the still finer and more carefully executed manuscripts on vellum.

"Neither my arguments nor my eloquence could prevail on the obdurate monks to sell me any of these books."—page 386.

He was more successful at the monastery of Xenophon. He wished very much to become master of three works belonging to the library. One was a quarto manuscript of the works of St. Chrysostom, another a quarto of the Gospels, and the third a large Evangelistarium, sixteen inches square, bound in faded green velvet, and said to be in the autograph of the emperor Alexius Comnenus. The process of negotiation we shall permit him to tell in his own words.

"I asked the monks whether they were inclined to part with

these three books, and offered to purchase them and the parchment rolls. There was a little consultation among them, and then they desired to be shown those which I particularly coveted. Then there was another consultation, and then they asked me which I set the greatest value on. So I said the rolls, on which the three rolls were unrolled, and looked at, and examined, and peeped at by the three monks who had put themselves forward in the business, with more pains and curiosity than had probably been ever wasted upon them before. *At last they said it was impossible, the rolls were too precious to be parted with, but if I liked to give a good price I should have the rest; upon which I took up the St. Chrysostom, the least valuable of the three, and while I examined it, saw from the corner of my eye the three monks nudging each other, and making signs. So I said, 'Well, now what will you take for your two books, this and the big one?' They said five thousand piastres; whereupon, with a look of indignant scorn, I laid down the St. Chrysostom, and got up to go away; but after a good deal more talk we retired to the divan, or drawing-room, as it may be called, of the monastery, where I conversed with the three exiled bishops. In course of time I was called out into another room to have a cup of coffee. There were my friends the three monks, the managing committee, and under the divan, imperfectly concealed, were the corners of the three splendid MSS. I knew that now all depended on my own tact whether my still famishing saddle-bags were to have a meal or not that day, the danger lying between offering too much or too little. If you offer too much, a Greek, a Jew, or an Armenian, immediately thinks that the desired object must be invaluable, that it must have some magical properties, like the lamp of Aladdin, which will bring wealth upon its possessor if he can but find out its secret; and he will either ask you a sum absurdly large, or will refuse to sell it at any price, but will lock it up and become nervous about it, and examine it over and over again privately, to see what can be the cause of a Frank's offering so much for a thing apparently so utterly useless. On the other hand, too little must not be offered, for it would be an indignity to suppose that persons of consideration would condescend to sell things of trifling value—it wounds their aristocratic feelings, they are above such meanness. By St. Xenophou, how we did talk! for five mortal hours it went on, I pretending to go away several times, but being always called back by one or other of the learned committee. I drank coffee and sherbet, and they drank arraghi; but in the end I got the great book of Alexius Comnenus for the value of twenty-two pounds, and the curious Gospels, which I had treated with the most cool disdain all along, was finally thrown into the bargain; and out I walked with a big book under each arm, bearing with perfect resignation the smiles and scoffs of the three brethren, who could scarcely contain their laughter at the*

way they had done the silly traveller. Then did the saddle-bags begin to assume a more comely and satisfactory form.

"After a stirrup cup of hot coffee, perfumed with the incense of the church, the monks bid me a joyous adieu; I responded as joyously: in short, every one was charmed, except the mule, who evidently was more surprised than pleased at the increased weight which he had to carry."—page 409.

The condition of the Greek monasteries, as far as literature is concerned, seems to be very much behind that of those of the Latin communion. From what we can learn from our author, and from other sources, they seem for the last two or three centuries to be completely at a stand still. Great part of the time of the Basilian monks, according to their rule, is devoted to prayer and liturgical observances; but this will not account for the apparent torpidity of their intellectual condition. Their seclusion from the world, and from the stirring scenes and events by which intellects are kindled into activity, may account in some measure for it. But it will not fully explain the circumstance; for even the clergy, who by their position and their duties are brought most frequently into contact with the several forms of social life, are very far behind their fellows of the Western Church, even in that professional knowledge which should constitute a necessary qualification of their ministry. The true cause we believe to be the want of any regular system of training for the candidates for the priestly state. There are no colleges, no seminaries, no universities to excite emulation, to kindle enthusiasm, and to hold out to the youthful aspirant high and pure models for his imitation. In this respect the Latin Church has derived incalculable advantage from the regulations adopted and sanctioned by the Tridentine Fathers for the formation of character and intellectual development of the youthful candidates for holy orders. The impulse given by their advice, their example, and their salutary decrees has been, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, the principal cause, or among the principal causes, which have sustained His Church against her enemies in the varied difficulties of these latter times. Among the losses which the Greek Church sustains by her state of schism, is that of being deprived of the presiding spirit of zeal and wisdom and knowledge, that would have roused her from her torpid state, and urged her on in the career of usefulness to the

people. And where the Greek Church is insensible even of the state in which it is, it would be in vain to expect that it will ever apply a remedy.

With these remarks we finish our notices of the Levant monasteries. Before we close the volume, however, we cannot forbear quoting one or two passages of a lighter and more passing interest. One is an instance of retributive justice, which shows how easily the forms of judicial inquiry are dispensed with by the unsophisticated natives of the East. We doubt whether the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench cov'd have inflicted punishment so equitably. The scene is on the banks of the Nile.

"I landed at the village of rude huts on the shore of the river, and sat down on a stone, waiting for my donkey, which I purposed to ride through the desert in the cool of the evening to Assouan, where my boat was moored. While I was sitting there, two boys were playing and wrestling together; they were naked, and about nine or ten years old. They soon began to quarrel, and one of them drew the dagger which he wore upon his arm, and stabbed the other in the throat. The poor boy fell to the ground bleeding; the dagger had entered his throat on the left side under the jaw-bone, and being directed upwards, had cut his tongue and grazed the roof of his mouth. Whilst he cried and writhed about upon the ground, with the blood pouring out of his mouth, the villagers came out of their cabins and stood around talking and screaming, but afforded no help to the poor boy. Presently a young man, who was, I believe, a lover of Mouna's, stood up and asked where the father of the boy was, and why he did not come to help him. The villagers said he had no father. 'Where are his relations, then?' he asked. The boy had no relations; there was no one to take care of him in the village. On hearing this he uttered some words which I did not understand, and started off after the boy who had inflicted the wound. The young assassin ran away as fast as he could, and a famous chase took place. They darted over the plain, scrambling up the rocks, and jumped down some dangerous-looking places among the masses of granite which formed the back ground of the village. At length the boy was caught, and, screaming and struggling, was dragged to the spot where his victim lay moaning and heaving upon the sand. The young man now placed him between his legs, and in this way held him tight, whilst he examined the wound of the other, putting his finger into it, and opening his mouth to see exactly how far it extended. When he had satisfied himself on the subject he called for a knife; the boy had thrown away his in the race, and he had not one himself. The villagers stood silent around, and one of them having handed him a dagger, the young man held the boy's head sideways across his

thigh, and cut his throat exactly in the same way as he had done to the other. He then pitched him away upon the ground, and the two lay together bleeding and writhing side by side. Their wounds were precisely the same; the second operation had been most exactly performed, and the knife had passed exactly where the boy had stabbed his playmate. The wounds, I believe, were not dangerous, for presently both the boys got up, and were led away to their homes. It was a curious instance of retributive justice, following out the old law, blood for blood, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."—page 160.

The only other extract which we take the liberty of quoting, will perhaps prove interesting to the lovers of Natural History.

"As I am on the subject of birds, I will relate a fact in natural history which I was fortunate enough to witness, and which, although it is mentioned so long ago as the times of Herodotus, has not, I believe, been often observed since; indeed, I have never met with any traveller who has himself seen such an occurrence. I had always a strong predilection for crocodile shooting, and had destroyed several of these dragons of the waters. On one occasion I saw a long way off a large one, twelve or fifteen feet long, lying asleep under a perpendicular bank about ten feet high, on the margin of the river. I stopped the boat at some distance: and noting the place as well as I could, I took a circuit inland, and came down cautiously to the top of the bank, where with my rifle I made sure of my ugly game. I had already cut off his head in imagination, and was considering whether it should be stuffed with its mouth shut or open. I peeped over the bank. There he was within ten feet of the sight of my rifle. I was on the point of firing at his eye, when I observed that he was attended by a bird called a ziczac. It is of the plover species, of a greyish colour, and as large as a small pigeon.

"The bird was walking up and down close to the crocodile's nose. I suppose I moved, for suddenly it saw me, and instead of flying away as any respectable bird would have done, he jumped up about a foot from the ground, screamed 'Ziczac! ziczac!' with all the powers of his voice, and dashed himself against the crocodile's face two or three times. The great beast started up, and immediately spying his danger, made a jump up into the air, and dashing into the water with a splash which covered me with mud, he dived into the river and disappeared. The ziczac to my increased admiration, proud apparently of having saved his friend, remained walking up and down, uttering his cry, as I thought with an exulting voice, and standing every now and then on the tips of his toes in a conceited manner, which made me justly angry with his impertinence. After having waited in vain for some time to

see whether the crocodile would come up again, I got up from the bank where I was lying, threw a clod of earth at the ziczac, and came back to the boat, feeling some consolation for the loss of my game in having witnessed a circumstance, the truth of which has been disputed by several writers on Natural History."—p. 149.

And here we must reluctantly conclude our notice. Our task has been an easy one. It has been one more of selection than of criticism. The work presented so many opportunities of selection, that we have allowed the author to speak for himself rather than distract the reader with much criticism upon his pages. Did we indulge in any lengthened opinion upon its merits, it may be inferred that that opinion would be of a favourable character. We have been interested, instructed, and amused. There is a vein of quiet humour pervading Mr. Curzon's style, and cropping out now and then upon the surface, that gives a considerable charm to many of his observations, and very frequently calls up a smile to the lips. The spirit of his observations on religious matters, and the tone of his remarks on the practices that came under his notice, are generally fair and tolerant; and, on the whole, we know few works that will afford the light reader more combined amusement and instruction.

ART. VI.—*The History of England, from the Accession of James II.*

By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. 8vo. Vols. 1 and 2. London, Longman, 1849.

DR. JOHNSON once described a play on which his opinion was asked, as a thing "which you might read without knowing that you had read anything at all." The description was used by Johnson, no doubt, to imply the utter worthlessness of the piece; but there is a sense, nevertheless, in which it might be meant to convey a commendation of the highest order. There are books in which the lucidness of the arrangement, the natural simplicity of the thoughts, the vigour of the language, and the ease and clearness of the style, beguile one into a

habitual forgetfulness of the author, and almost convert the operation of reading into the unconscious process of *communing with oneself, and seeming to follow out as one's own the train of thought thus ingeniously presented.* We have met with very few books of which, in a purely literary point of view, Dr. Johnson's criticism, taken in this better sense, is more strikingly true than it is of Mr. Macaulay's History; few books in which the author seems to hold a less prominent, or at least a less obtrusive position, and in which the student is less oppressed by the consciousness that, in the views which are presented to him, he is yielding to the suggestions of another, rather than following the silent flow of his own thoughts as they spontaneously arise. *Whatever may be our opinion of the justice and solidity of Mr. Macaulay's views of the facts which he relates, and the characters whom he describes, it is impossible to deny that those views are put forward clearly, naturally, and vigorously.* He is a perfect historical painter. The events which he narrates seem almost *to pass under our view; the personages whom he sketches rise up in full life before us; the opinions which he suggests flow necessarily, and without an effort, from the facts and circumstances such as he details them.* To say that *this captivating book, even in its most commonplace pages, fixes and charms the reader's attention with all the interest of a highly-wrought romance, is to describe very inadequately its effect upon ourselves.* There is no romance, however effective, that can equal the absorbing interest created by the actual or presumed reality of history, told as it is told by Mr. Macaulay.

Indeed, the striking literary merits of the work make a sober and dispassionate estimate of its true historical value a task of no ordinary difficulty. We cannot wonder that upon its first appearance it was received with one undivided outburst of favour and admiration. The previous reputation of the author; the familiarity with the characters and events of the period, which several of his published essays appeared to imply; the evidence of labour and research which the work itself presented in every page; the seeming variety and copiousness of his authorities; and, above all, the bold and unhesitating tone which pervaded all his statements and opinions, could not fail to disarm every suspicion of untruthfulness, while they appeared almost to preclude the possibility of haste, igno-

rance, or misconception. Even still it is not without reluctance that we can pause in his rapid and life-like narrative, to discuss the accuracy of its brilliant details, or turn for a moment from the vigorous and masterly touches of his descriptive pencil, to examine the fidelity of his *portraits, or the truthfulness of their colouring.*

One of the chief sources of the attractiveness of Mr. Macaulay's work, lies in its being, in perhaps a greater degree than has before been attempted by a professed historian, a history of the men, rather than of the mere events of the period. What the biographer is for the subject of *his biography, and the memoir-writer for the individuals* whose private lives he undertakes to chronicle, Mr. Macaulay has contrived to be for most of the prominent characters of the Revolution; and indeed there are few, even among the minor actors whom he introduces, of whose life, habits, and conduct he does not manage, without interrupting the course of the narrative, to communicate at least so much as places before the reader a tolerably clear and intelligible idea of the individual, or at least of an individual, distinctly and graphically, even though it may not always be quite faithfully, portrayed. The labour and research, indeed, which Mr. Macaulay seems to have *bestowed upon this branch of his subject, can hardly be* estimated, except by those who have devoted themselves to a similar enquiry. There is not a source of information connected with the social or personal history of the time, with which he does not appear to be familiar. With the acts of parliament, state-papers, despatches, proclamations, records, minutes, official letters, and other similar materials of the professed historian, he has combined the biographies, memoirs, diaries, journals, personal anecdotes, gossiping correspondence, and all the other miscellaneous and indescribable records of private character, *even down to the satirical ballads and pasquinades to* which the events of the day may have given occasion. Nor is there, generally speaking, in the use of these motley and miscellaneous materials, the slightest trace of affectation or pedantry. No writer in the language has been more remarkable than Mr. Macaulay for the copiousness, *beauty, and variety of his illustrations; yet it would be* hard to discover a single instance in which his illustrations are introduced for their own sake, and do not arise naturally out of the subject, or out of the view of it which he is

at the time enforcing. And it is so with these personal illustrations of the history to which we have been alluding. They will rarely be found ill assorted, or out of place; and though, in a few instances, the descriptions may seem to be a little prolix, and in others, perhaps, to bear an undue proportion to the historical importance of the individual under review, yet they are always for themselves eminently interesting, and contribute more than all the rest to the agreeable and popular character of the History.

Indeed, it is chiefly on this branch of the subject that Mr. Macaulay's claim to novelty and originality must rest. As regards the main facts of the history of a period which has been already treated by many able men entertaining the same general views with Mr. Macaulay—by Burnet, and Dalrymple, and in part by Fox and Sir James Mackintosh—it was not to be expected that his work should contain a great deal that is new. But the personal history of the time is comparatively an untried field. It is one, too, which has peculiar attractions for such a pen as Mr. Macaulay's; and if we may judge from our own impressions, his success has fully sustained his early reputation. Nevertheless, it cannot on the other hand be denied, that there is no department of history so proverbially open to misconception and misrepresentation as this, and certainly none so liable to take a colour from the private bias of the historian, if he have any. Dealing not merely with public things and actions, but with private and often studiously hidden thoughts and views—not simply with what men did, but what they meant to do, and the motives which impelled them—not alone with what they published to the world, but often, and indeed more frequently, with what they sought to conceal from every eye, and perhaps even from themselves, this branch of the historian's "*periculosum plenum opus aleæ*," requires, more than any other, all that calmness and sobriety of judgment which should be his leading characteristics. And, however we may admire the vigour, the eloquence, and the research which Mr. Macaulay has devoted to this branch of his task; however heartily we may adopt a large proportion of his views as to the men of the period which he describes, we are, nevertheless, far from subscribing to all his judgments, dogmatical and decided as they for the most part are.

On the contrary, while we freely admit the extraordinary ability and manifold merits of his History, we are forced, after a calm and careful investigation, to acknowledge that *with all his brilliancy and boldness, Mr. Macaulay's accuracy is far from being uniformly beyond exception; that his portraits, graphic and life-like as they seem, sometimes partake strongly of the nature of caricature; that, where political or religious interests are involved, his judgments of men and motives, however ingeniously supported and vigorously enforced, are seldom entirely unbiassed and impartial; that his selection, and still more his grouping, of facts and circumstances, is very often the result of some preconceived view of character; and, above all, that, as far as Catholics are concerned, the general tone and spirit of his personal sketches is strongly, though we would fain believe unconsciously, marked by prejudice, exaggeration, and bitterness.*

Nor, indeed, can we conceal that the discovery has not taken us altogether by surprise. We are not so Utopian as to expect that a historian shall be a man perfectly free from every species of bias, or that a history shall be a *perfectly passive and colourless medium, through which mere facts are to be transmitted to the reader.* When history shall come to be written by automata, and facts shall be made, like the winds and the rain under the control of modern science, to register themselves, such a result may be obtained. But as men are, it is neither to *be expected, nor, indeed, to be desired.* *If there be such a thing as objective truth in history, it is the duty of the historian to seek it honestly according to the lights which he possesses, and to communicate in good faith the result of his investigation.* But it is exceedingly difficult, especially for an ardent and excitable mind, habitually devoted *to a certain set of principles and views, to conduct a historical investigation in this perfect sincerity and good faith; and we are far from agreeing in the opinion which we have seen over and over again expressed, that Mr. Macaulay's previous studies and pursuits had peculiarly fitted him to be a historian, and especially to be the historian of the English Revolution.* *Mr. Macaulay, like all ardent and earnest men, has no taste for middle opinions.* He has at all times been a zealous member of a party. His literary reputation, deservedly high as it is, has been won, for the most part, in the arena of party

politics, or the pages of a party Review; and it is impossible to deny that some of his most successful criticisms, as well as his happiest oratorical displays, owed a large share of their effectiveness to the impulse of party zeal. Moreover, strange and unprofessional as the confession may appear on our part, we cannot help believing that, even for a writer of far less ardent temperament, and far more impartial mind than Mr. Macaulay, there is hardly any conceivable literary avocation less favourable to the formation of those habits of thought which are indispensable for a historian, than that of a practised and professional critic. It is not merely that it almost necessarily produces desultory habits of thinking; that it indisposes the mind for comprehensive and sustained exertion; that it produces a tendency to showy and ambitious writing, and, by holding out effect as the great object after which the writer should strive, insensibly produces a certain unscrupulousness as to the minor arts of colouring, and even disguising, those facts or circumstances which might interfere therewith. These, no doubt, are serious disqualifications for a task which, above all others, demands patient and prolonged investigation, calm reflection, and the sacrifice of every species of pretension inconsistent with simple historic truth. But there are others, still more serious, which it is equally difficult for a hackneyed reviewer to avoid. From the nature of the occupation itself, it is impossible that his mind should maintain that indifference which is the only solid foundation of impartiality. Unlike the historian, his calling is to criticize, not to relate. He is, by his very office, a judge, and not a witness. He examines, not for the purpose of reporting, but of deciding: and the highest degree of impartiality that can be demanded, or perhaps, indeed, desired, at his hands, is, that he should not prejudge the case. Hence, whether it be for praise or for censure, the critic seldom fails to take a decided view. The view once taken, he becomes an advocate by the very fact. To maintain it by argument; to press into service every fact which tends to enforce it; to combat every adverse circumstance; become the first duties of his office, as they are the first requirements of the position which he has assumed. And it is well if it end here. It is not so difficult, as might at first sight be imagined, to make, almost unconsciously, a further step; to dwell habitually upon those circumstances

which tell favourably upon our pre-adopted view; to give them an undue prominence in estimating the merits of *the case; to colour the doubtful ones; to throw the unfavourable ones into the back-ground, or overlook them altogether; and eventually, perhaps, to lapse by slow degrees even into the less reputable arts of the professional advocate.* The position of an anonymous reviewer, too, releasing him from a certain amount of responsibility, *is not without its effect in facilitating this process; and we cannot help thinking that it requires more firmness and more sterling honesty than falls to the lot of ordinary minds, to resist with perfect success its silent, though sure and steady influence.* Mr. Macaulay, with all his evident honesty and straightforwardness, certainly has not done so.

Were it not that it would carry us far beyond our present purpose, it would be easy to illustrate these observations by a reference to the most remarkable of his literary and historical, as well as his political, essays. *His Essay on Macchiavelli, on Milton, on Hampden, on Ranke's History of the Papacy, on Bacon, even on Boswell's Johnson, though free from the more vulgar arts of misrepresentation, and written, we doubt not, in perfect good faith, are nevertheless one-sided in a greater or less degree. Unfortunately, too, we shall have occasion, before we close, to show that the historian, in transferring his operations to a more extensive field, has failed to shake off the old and inveterate habits of the reviewer.*

For those who are familiar with Mr. Macaulay's Historical Essays, we cannot better describe his History than as a voluminous Essay on the Revolution of 1688, conceived in the same spirit, constructed upon the same plan, and though written in a less ambitious style, resembling in all the leading features of its composition his well-known sketches in the Edinburgh Review. True to the tactics which pervade all those brilliant and powerful essays, in most of which the avowed object is to write up, or, as the case may be, to write down, some man or some party of men, the palpable moral of the two massive volumes before us, while they contain a luminous, well-digested, and, in the main, substantially accurate history of the Revolution, is to exalt its leading Whig agents, and especially the Prince of Orange, and to decry Toryism, Church-of-Englandism, Popery, and, above

all, the reaction in favour of Popery which commenced under Charles I., was revived after the Restoration, and *had its full development in the unhappy reign of James II.* We need scarcely say, that there are some of these views in which Mr. Macaulay carries with him our fullest sympathy; in all we give him credit for most perfect sincerity and good faith; but we regret to add that, even where our sympathies are strongest, we cannot always go with him in *the course which he has taken.* He is seldom content with the simple unadorned facts. There is a perpetual straining after effect, a constant effort to make the statements tell, which has led to endless and unnecessary exaggeration. Characters sufficiently black in themselves, under Mr. Macaulay's pencil become preternaturally repulsive. Facts, already damning enough, are sometimes made almost incredible in their hideous details. Evidence which might satisfy even a sceptic, is eked out by pressing into its support doubtful, and perhaps apocryphal circumstances. He has overdrawn in the details, even where *the general truth of the facts is beyond dispute.*

We had originally proposed, in pursuance of these views, to examine Mr. Macaulay's general accuracy as a historian of the Revolution; and we had actually collected a large mass of facts and statements, in confirmation of the judgment which we have ventured to pronounce. But we *have thought it best to modify our design.* In one branch of the enquiry we have been anticipated at great length by a contemporary;* and we feel that we shall better consult for the wishes of our readers, and for the objects to which our Journal is especially devoted, if we confine ourselves, principally or entirely, to Mr. Macaulay's mode of dealing with the Catholic religion and its professors, especially the converts to Catholicity in the reign of James II.

Not that we purpose entering into any controversy upon the general opinions which he has thought proper to express with regard to the Catholic religion. We are quite prepared, by his previous writings, to find, upon the one hand, that he regards it as a "corrupt religion," (i. 23, i. 45, ii. 100;) "deformed by superstition," (i. 7;) that he

* The Quarterly Review, No. clxviii., Art. viii.—an unfriendly, and often unfair, but on the whole a very damaging, criticism, especially directed against Mr. Macaulay's Whig tendencies and prepossessions.

considers ignorance essential to the maintenance of its ascendancy, (i. 68;) that he regards it as incompatible with "advance in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life," (i. 48;) that he believes "many of its saints to have been of doubtful, and some of baleful character," (i. 54,) &c. &c.

And, upon the other hand, we are not unduly elated by some of the more favourable views of the influence of the mediæval Church which he has been candid enough to express.

"The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, was the first of a long series of salutary revolutions. It is true that the Church had been deeply corrupted, both by that superstition and by that philosophy against which she had long contended, and over which she had at last triumphed. She had given a too easy admission to doctrines borrowed from the ancient schools, and to rites borrowed from the ancient temples. Roman policy and Gothic ignorance, Grecian ingenuity and Syrian asceticism, had contributed to deprave her. Yet she retained enough of the sublime theology and benevolent morality of her earlier days to elevate many intellects, and to purify many hearts. Some things also which at a later period were justly regarded as among her chief blemishes, were, in the seventh century, and long afterwards, among her chief merits. That the sacerdotal order should encroach on the functions of the civil magistrate would, in our time, be a great evil. But that which in an age of good government is an evil, may, in an age of grossly bad government, be a blessing. It is better that mankind should be governed by wise laws well administered, and by an enlightened public opinion, than by priestcraft: but it is better that men should be governed by priestcraft than by brute violence, by such a prelate as Dunstan than by such a warrior as Penda. A society sunk in ignorance, and ruled by mere physical force, has great reason to rejoice when a class, of which the influence is intellectual and moral, rises to ascendancy. Such a class will doubtless abuse its power: but mental power, even when abused, is still a nobler and better power than that which consists merely in corporeal strength. We read in the Anglo-Saxon chronicles of tyrants who, when at the height of greatness, were smitten with remorse, who abhorred the pleasures and dignities which they had purchased by guilt, who abdicated their crowns, and who sought to atone for their offences by cruel penances and incessant prayers. These stories have drawn forth bitter expressions of contempt from some writers, who, while they boasted of liberality, were in truth as narrow-minded as any monk of the dark ages, and whose habit was to apply to all events in the history of the world the standard received in the Parisian society of

the eighteenth century. Yet surely a system which, however deformed by superstition, introduced strong moral restraints into communities previously governed only by vigour of muscle and by audacity of spirit, a system which taught the fiercest and mightiest ruler that he was, like his meanest bondman, a responsible being, might have seemed to deserve a more respectful mention from philosophers and philanthropists.

"The same observations will apply to the contempt with which, in the last century, it was fashionable to speak of the pilgrimages, the sanctuaries, the crusades, and the monastic institutions of the middle ages. In times when men were scarcely ever induced to travel by liberal curiosity, or by the pursuit of gain, it was better that the rude inhabitant of the North should visit Italy and the East as a pilgrim, than that he should never see anything but those squalid cabins and uncleared woods amidst which he was born. In times when life and when female honor were exposed to daily risk from tyrants and marauders, it was better that the precinct of a shrine should be regarded with an irrational awe, than that there should be no refuge inaccessible to cruelty and licentiousness. In times when statesmen were incapable of forming extensive political combinations, it was better that the Christian nations should be roused and united for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, than that they should, one by one, be overwhelmed by the Mahometan power. Whatever reproach may, at a later period, have been justly thrown on the indolence and luxury of religious orders, it was surely good that, in an age of ignorance and violence, there should be quiet cloisters and gardens, in which the arts of peace could be safely cultivated, in which gentle and contemplative natures could find an asylum, in which one brother could employ himself in transcribing the *Æneid* of Virgil, and another in meditating the *Analytics* of Aristotle, in which he who had a genius for art might illuminate a martyrology or carve a crucifix, and in which he who had a turn for natural philosophy might make experiments on the properties of plants and minerals. Had not such retreats been scattered here and there, among the nuts of a miserable peasantry, and the castles of a ferocious aristocracy, European society would have consisted merely of beasts of burden and beasts of prey. The church has many times been compared by divines to that ark, of which we read in the *Book of Genesis*: but never was the resemblance more perfect than during that evil time when she alone rode, amidst darkness and tempest, on the deluge beneath which all the great works of ancient power and wisdom lay entombed, bearing within her that feeble germ from which a second and more glorious civilisation was to spring.

Even the spiritual supremacy arrogated by the pope was, in the dark ages, productive of far more good than evil. Its effect was to unite the nations of Western Europe in one great commonwealth. What the Olympian chariot course and the Pythian oracle were to

all the Greek cities, from Trebizond to Marseilles, Rome and her bishop were to all Christians of the Latin communion, from Calabria to the Hebrides. Thus grew up sentiments of enlarged benevolence. Races separated from each other by seas and mountains acknowledged a fraternal tie and a common code of public law. Even in war, the cruelty of the conqueror was not seldom mitigated by the recollection that he and his vanquished enemies were all members of one great federation."—vol. i. pp. 6—9.

Testimonies like these are of little value in our eyes, for their effect is more than undone by the contrast in which they are placed. We have no ambition to see the mediæval church exalted for the purpose of depreciating its modern successor; and we care little for Mr. Macaulay's acknowledgment (i. 48), that "from the time when the barbarians overran the Western Empire, to the time of the revival of letters, the influence of the Church of Rome had been generally favourable to science, to civilization, and to good government," when we find (*ibid.*) annexed to it as a pendant, expressed with even less qualification, the assertion that, "for the last three centuries, to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object."

Painful, however, as are these and many similar views of Mr. Macaulay's, they occasion us but little surprise, for we had been prepared for them by the general tone of many of his previous writings. But we must own that we have been surprised to find a literary man of such eminence, in enforcing these views, fall into a strange, and in him almost unaccountable, blunder. In alluding (i. 68) to the circumstance, that "*the Irish were the only people of Northern Europe who remained true to the old religion*," he ascribes their fidelity "partly to the circumstance that they were some centuries behind their neighbours in knowledge;" of course assuming as a principle which no one ever doubted, that the progress of the Reformation elsewhere was commensurate with the diffusion of knowledge; that the countries in which it was first and most universally received, were those whose civilization and enlightenment were most firmly established; and that it was only in the kingdoms which were "some centuries behind in knowledge," that the old religion was able to maintain itself. Now, we should almost apologize for thinking it necessary to remind our readers that it was exactly the reverse. It is notorious, that the countries which, then as now, were really "centuries behind

in knowledge," were precisely those which most rapidly, most universally, and most unhesitatingly received, the Reformation; and that those which for the fifty years before had been most distinguished by civilization and literary activity, were, with the single and very partial example of Germany, the countries in which the old religion most firmly maintained its ground. On the one hand, in Sweden the Confession of Augsburg was adopted by a national council in 1529; the Lutheran doctrine was formally received in Denmark in 1536; Norway passed under the Lutheran yoke at the same period; Iceland and its other dependencies silently acquiesced; in Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, and the north-eastern shores of the Baltic, the change can hardly be said to have a history at all. Surely, if to be "behind in knowledge" were the best security of popery, these were kingdoms in which the old religion might well have maintained its hold. On the other hand, Italy, which for a century had been alive with art, literature, and science; Spain, where, in addition to all her old and venerable literary institutions, the Great Cardinal had just founded the new and magnificent University of Alcalá, with its ten colleges and forty-four professors, and gathered together all the most celebrated biblical scholars of the world; France, which even then aspired to give the tone to Europe; Flanders, the centre of the useful arts, and the great rallying-point of European commerce: all, without exception, preserved their allegiance unshaken. Germany and Switzerland were nearly equally divided between the new and old creeds; in both, the religious movement will be found, for the most part, to have coincided with the political views and interests of the several provinces or cantons; and it is a fact beyond all possibility of question, that, in the United Provinces, hatred of Spain had just as much share as hatred of popery in the religious change which there was almost universal.

Nor are we less astonished to find Mr. Macaulay offering (p. 68) in explanation of the same phenomenon in Ireland, the neglect on the part of the English conquerors to "put forth a translation of the Scriptures in the Erse language." As if it were not perfectly notorious, that whereas in Italy alone there had been, prior to the Reformation, nearly twenty separate editions of one single Italian version, (that of Malermi,) not a solitary edition of the

Bible, or any portion of it, had been published in the vernacular language of any of the countries thus early converted to Protestantism for many years after the change of creed. The first Danish Bible was printed in 1550; the first Swedish Bible in 1541; the first in the Norse dialect in 1584; the first in the Finnish language in 1642; and the first in the Livonian so late as 1689.* And yet Mr. Macaulay calmly sets down the non-publication of the Scriptures in Irish as one of the causes of the signal failure of Protestantism in Ireland!

We do not mean, however, to dwell upon general topics like these, which could only lead to vague and inconclusive controversy. It will be more satisfactory to test a few of Mr. Macaulay's facts, in so far as they bear upon the subject which we are considering, and to examine his mode of dealing with the authorities on which he relies. We have already observed that one of the most prominent vices of his History, is the exaggerated and overstrained tone which pervades it. Some of these exaggerations are little more than amusing. No one, for example, will observe any serious meaning, or indeed any thing beyond a strong and striking way of saying a startling thing, in the assertion that "the Ultramontane doctrine differed almost as much from the doctrine of Bossuet, as from that of Luther," (ii. 58;) or that Louis XIV. had "learned from the Jesuits to abhor Jansenism, quite as much as he abhorred Protestantism, and *very much more than he abhorred Atheism*," ii. 60.) But there are examples in his pages of another, and we are sorry to add, less harmless, species of exaggeration. We shall give a few specimens, especially as regards the use which he makes of his authorities.

Our first shall be in connexion with the topic which we have just been considering—Mr. Macaulay's strong views on the corruption of Popery. It is not, perhaps, of any very great importance, but it will, at least, show the direction of the current. In relating the opening of the great Jesuit School in the Savoy, he writes as follows:

"Bacon had pronounced the mode of instruction followed in the Jesuit colleges to be the best yet known in the world, and *had warmly expressed his regret that so admirable a system of intellectual and*

* See an article in this Journal, vol. iii. p. 428, and following.

moral discipline should be *subservient to the interests of a corrupt religion.*"—ii. 100.

The direct effect of this passage is to make Bacon a warm witness against popery. Now there is not a word in the original to justify such a representation. In the first place, the regret expressed by Bacon, whatever may be its object, cannot well be called warm, as will be seen when we quote his words.

Secondly, Bacon does not say one word about "a corrupt religion." This is a pure interpolation of Mr. Macaulay's zeal against Popery.

Thirdly, what he really expresses, is, not regret that the Jesuit schools are subservient to the interests of the Roman Church, but a wish that they were available for the service of his own.

The references given by Mr. Macaulay are to the well known passages in the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. One of them is from the fourth chapter of the sixth book. It is very short, and makes no allusion to the Catholic religion whatever: "Ad pedagogicum quod attinet, brevisimum foret dictu: consule scholas Jesuitarum. Nihil quod in usum venit, his melius."—*Opera*, i. 192. (Ed. 1730.)

The second, and that to which Mr. Macaulay evidently alludes, is from the first book: "Quæ nobilissima pars prisce disciplinæ revocata est aliquatenus, quasi postliminiis in Jesuitarum collegiis, quorum cum intueor industriam solertiamque, tam in doctrina excolenda quam in moribus informandis, illud occurrit Agesilai de Pharnabazo, 'Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses,' " (i. 35.) Still not a word about "a corrupt religion."

There is another passage in the same book similarly laudatory of the Jesuits, but, nevertheless, without a word of regret or of censure on the Church of Rome, or any single syllable which could justify this strange perversion. And beyond these passages, and the well-known allusion to the "Jesuit eye" in the thirty-third Essay, there is not another reference to the Jesuits to be found in the entire works of Bacon!

We might find many examples of this excessive tendency to exaggeration, in almost every character distasteful to Mr. Macaulay which he has introduced into his History. But we must be content with a few. James

himself, both as Duke of York and as King, we need hardly say, is an especial object of his dislike, as well as of his most elaborate invective. Wherever it is possible to find a tyrannical, or vindictive, or mean, or treacherous, or selfish motive, Mr. Macaulay can see no other; wherever an act is clearly attributable to higher and better motives, he is but too apt to ignore it altogether; where he is compelled by the evidence of history to discard some false or calumnious imputation, he does it grudgingly and ungraciously, and seldom fails to express an opinion that the imputation, though untrue in point of fact, was, nevertheless, neither unnatural nor improbable under the circumstances.*

In his history of James's administration in Scotland, while Duke of York, for example, he repeats, without a word of doubt or qualification, the old story of James's attending in person at the torture of the state prisoners, and even represents him as "*amusing himself with hearing Covenanters shriek, and seeing them writhe while their knees were beaten flat in the boots.*" (i. 497;) and he reiterates the charge in similar terms in another place, (p. 502.) For this assertion he cites Burnet, (i. 583,) and Wodrow, (iii. v. 2.) We need hardly say that both Burnet and Wodrow are fiery partisans and bitter enemies of James. But let us examine their evidence, such as it is.

Burnet, without specifying any particular case or citing any authority, (which in him is invariably fair ground for suspicion,) states the fact of James's remaining to witness the torture, from which other persons were driven away by disgust and horror. *There is so much bitterness in his tone, that we can easily believe him to have made the very most of whatever he knew on the subject.* Yet, while Mr. Macaulay makes it one of James's "*amusements,*" (p. 499,) and "*luxuries,*" (p. 502,) even Burnet, bitter as he is, is content with saying, that he "*looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention as if he had been to look upon some curious experiment,*" (i. 583.)

Mr. Macaulay's mode of dealing with Wodrow is still more extraordinary. The only reference this writer makes to the matter is a simple statement, that, at the torture of

* See i. 656, 657, 659. and especially ii. pp. 470-1.

one prisoner, Sprewl (or Spreul), "the Lord Halton was preses of the committee, and the Duke of York and many others were present," (vol. iii. 253, Glasgow, 1829.) The case of this Spreul was clearly an exceptional one, and especially interested James, inasmuch as the charge against him was the design of blowing up James and his *Duchess in the palace of Holyrood. It would not, therefore, have been at all unnatural that James should have thought it his duty to be present at such an examination; nor would his presence at an enquiry of this peculiarly personal character imply a habit of attending on other occasions; much less would it justify Mr. Macaulay's sweeping and universal charge. But what is the fact as to this authority of Wodrow? Dalrymple, although, as every one knows, a zealous Whig, with the very same authorities before him, declares the reports to be most probably false, and what is of far more importance, assures us that, after examining the Records of the Privy Council for the only case which has been cited, "he had found no reason for Wodrow's imputation."* And yet Mr. Macaulay does not hesitate, upon an authority so worthless, and so insufficient, even if it were perfectly unquestioned, to describe James, without one doubting or qualifying expression, as in the habit of "amusing himself with hearing [not one but many] covenanters shriek, and seeing them writhe," and "enjoying the luxury of seeing them swoon in the boots!"

Again, in James's conduct at the death-bed of his brother, Charles II., Mr. Macaulay finds another occasion for a very different imputation upon his character,—one of the last charges, indeed, which we should have expected. With all the admitted faults of his disposition, James has generally received credit for a sincere and hearty zeal for the advancement of the faith of his adoption; and indeed it is to this indiscreet and fiery zeal, just as much as to his desire to extend and consolidate the royal prerogative, that even his enemies have commonly attributed his errors and his fall. But Mr. Macaulay is not content to leave him in quiet possession even of this, in his eyes we should have thought, very questionable reputation. The narrative of the death-scene of Charles is one of the most characteristic in

Mr. Macaulay's history. But it is too long for insertion, and we must be content with the close. *On the morning of Monday, Feb. 2, 1685, the king, soon after he rose from his bed, was struck with an apoplectic seizure, while preparing for his morning toilet. He was instantly bled with a penknife, in default of a more fitting instrument, by a physician, who chanced to be present. He recovered his senses, and, though still in a very alarming condition, continued, during the three following days, to improve so much, that on the morning of Thursday, February 5, the London Gazette announced that he was out of danger. But early in the course of that day* a relapse took place, and the king's situation became so alarming, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and four other bishops, who had been in the palace since the commencement of his illness, thought it necessary to urge upon him, more earnestly than before, the duty of preparing for his end. Archbishop Sancroft's appeal not proving effective, the celebrated Bishop Ken tried his powers of persuasion; and he was so far successful, that the king made no objection to the reading of the service for the Visitation of the Sick, expressed his sorrow for what he had done amiss, and suffered the Absolution to be pronounced in the ordinary form of the Anglican Ritual. But beyond this he would not go. He could not be induced to declare, that he died in the communion of the Church of England, and though a table with bread and wine was brought to his bedside, he steadily declined to receive the Eucharist according to its form, sometimes on the plea that there was no hurry, sometimes on the ground that he was too weak.*

"Many attributed this apathy to contempt for divine things, and many to the stupor which often precedes death. But there were in the palace a few persons who knew better. Charles had never been a sincere member of the Established Church. His mind had long oscillated between Hobbism and Popery. When his health was good and his spirits high, he was a scoffer. In his few serious moments he was a Roman Catholic. The Duke of York was aware of this, but was entirely occupied with the care of his own interests. He had ordered the outposts to be closed. He had posted detachments of the guards in different parts of the city. He had also

* Mr. Macaulay says, it "was known in the evening;" but Barillon expressly says, that "about noon he heard from a good quarter that there were no hopes."—Dalrymple, ii. 116.

procured the feeble signature of the dying king to an instrument by which some duties, granted only till the demise of the crown, were let to farm for a term of three years. *These things occupied the attention of James to such a degree that, though on ordinary occasions he was indiscreetly and unseasonably eager to bring over proselytes to his church, he never reflected that his brother was in danger of dying without the last sacraments.* This neglect was the more extraordinary because the Duchess of York had, at the request of the queen, suggested, on the morning on which the king was taken ill, the propriety of procuring spiritual assistance. For such assistance Charles was at last indebted to an agency very different from that of his pious wife and sister-in-law. A life of frivolity and vice had not extinguished in the Duchess of Portsmouth all sentiments of religion, or all that kindness which is the glory of her sex. *The French ambassador Barillon, who had come to the palace to inquire after the king, paid her a visit. He found her in an agony of sorrow. She took him into a secret room, and poured out her whole heart to him. 'I have,' she said, 'a thing of great moment to tell you. If it were known, my head would be in danger. The king is really and truly a Catholic; but he will die without being reconciled to the church. His bedchamber is full of Protestant clergymen. I cannot enter it without giving scandal. The duke is thinking only of himself. Speak to him. Remind him that there is a soul at stake. He is master now. He can clear the room. Go this instant, or it will be too late.'*

"Barillon hastened to the bedchamber, took the duke aside, and delivered the message of the mistress. The conscience of James smote him. *He started as if roused from sleep, and declared that nothing should prevent him from discharging the sacred duty which had been too long delayed. Several schemes were discussed and rejected. At last the duke commanded the crowd to stand aloof, went to the bed, stooped down, and whispered something which none of the spectators could hear, but which they supposed to be some question about affairs of state. Charles answered in an audible voice, 'Yes, yes, with all my heart.'* None of the bystanders, except the French ambassador, guessed that the king was declaring his wish to be admitted into the bosom of the Church of Rome.

"'Shall I bring a priest?' said the duke. 'Do, brother,' replied the sick man. 'For God's sake do, and lose no time. But, no; you will get into trouble.' 'If it costs me my life,' said the duke, 'I will fetch a priest.'

"To find a priest, however, for such a purpose, at a moment's notice, was not easy. For, as the law then stood, the person who admitted a proselyte into the Roman Catholic Church was guilty of a capital crime. The count of Castel Melhor, a Portuguese nobleman, who, driven by political troubles from his native land, had been hospitably received at the English court, undertook to

procure a confessor. He had recourse to his countrymen who belonged to the queen's household ; but he found that none of her chaplains knew English or French enough to shrive the king. The duke and Barillon were about to send to the Venetian minister for a clergyman, when they heard that a Benedictine monk, named John Huddleston, happened to be at Whitehall. This man had, with great risk to himself, saved the king's life after the battle of Worcester, and had, on that account, been, ever since the Restoration, a privileged person. In the sharpest proclamations which were put forth against popish priests, when false witnesses had inflamed the nation to fury, Huddleston had been excepted by name. He readily consented to put his life a second time in peril for his prince ; but there was still a difficulty. The honest monk was so illiterate that he did not know what he ought to say on an occasion of such importance. He however obtained some hints, through the intervention of Castel Melhor, from a Portuguese ecclesiastic, and, thus instructed, was brought up the back stairs by Chiffinch, a confidential servant, who, if the satires of that age are to be credited, had often introduced visitors of a very different description by the same entrance. The duke then, in the king's name, commanded all who were present to quit the room, except Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham, and John Granville, Earl of Bath. Both these lords professed the Protestant religion ; but James conceived that he could count on their fidelity. Feversham, a Frenchman of noble birth, and nephew of the great Turenne, held high rank in the English army, and was chamberlain to the queen. Bath was groom of the stole.

"The duke's orders were obeyed ; and even the physicians withdrew. The back door was then opened, and Father Huddleston entered. A cloak had been thrown over his sacred vestments, and his shaven crown was concealed by a flowing wig. 'Sir,' said the duke, 'this good man once saved your life. He now comes to save your soul.' Charles faintly answered, 'He is welcome.' Huddleston went through his part better than had been expected. He knelt by the bed, listened to the confession, pronounced the absolution, and administered extreme unction. He asked if the king wished to receive the Lord's supper. 'Surely,' said Charles, 'if I am not unworthy.' The host was brought in. Charles feebly strove to rise and kneel before it. The priest bade him lie still, and assured him that God would accept the humiliation of the soul, and would not require the humiliation of the body. The king found so much difficulty in swallowing the bread that it was necessary to open the door and to procure a glass of water. This rite ended, the monk held up a crucifix before the penitent, charged him to fix his last thoughts on the sufferings of the Redeemer, and withdrew. The whole ceremony had occupied about three quarters of an hour ; and, during that time, the courtiers who filled the outer room had communicated their suspicions to

each other by whispers and significant glances. The door was at length thrown open, and the crowd again filled the chamber of death.

"It was now late in the evening. The king seemed much relieved by what had passed. His natural children were brought to his bedside, the dukes of Grafton, Southampton, and Northumberland, sons of the Duchess of Cleveland, the Duke of St. Alban's, son of Eleanor Gwynn, and the Duke of Richmond, son of the Duchess of Portsmouth. Charles blessed them all, but spoke with peculiar tenderness to Richmond. One face which should have been there was wanting. The eldest and best beloved child was an exile and a wanderer. His name was not once mentioned by his father.

"During the night Charles earnestly recommended the Duchess of Portsmouth and her boy to the care of James; 'And do not,' he goodnaturedly added, 'let poor Nelly starve.' The queen sent excuses for her absence by Halifax. She said that she was too much disordered to resume her post by the couch, and implored pardon for any offence which she might unwittingly have given. 'She ask my pardon, poor woman!' cried Charles; 'I ask hers with all my heart!'

"The morning light began to peep through the windows of Whitehall; and Charles desired the attendants to pull aside the curtains, that he might have one more look at the day. He remarked that it was time to wind up a clock which stood near his bed. These little circumstances were long remembered, because they proved beyond dispute that, when he declared himself a Roman Catholic, he was in full possession of his faculties. He apologized to those who had stood round him all night for the trouble which he had caused. He had been, he said, a most unconscionable time dying; but he hoped that they would excuse it. This was the last glimpse of that exquisite urbanity, so often found potent to charm away the resentment of a justly incensed nation. Soon after dawn the speech of the dying man failed. Before ten his senses were gone. Great numbers had repaired to the Churches at the hour of morning service. When the prayer for the king was read, loud groans and sobs showed how deeply his people felt for him. At noon on Friday, the sixth of February, he passed away without a struggle."—pp. 434-439.

The selfish indifference to all except his own interests in these critical circumstances, imputed in the passages which we have given in italics, would, in such a man as James, be peculiarly odious and disgraceful. We are far from asserting that his feelings on the occasion were entirely devoid of selfishness and concern for his own succession. But that this, as Mr. Macaulay represents, was the sole or principal cause of his delaying to offer the services of a Catholic priest to his dying brother, is a per-

fectly gratuitous assertion. It is quite possible to explain his conduct upon other and higher principles. His position, it cannot be denied, was one of exceeding difficulty and delicacy. To reconcile any one to the Church of Rome was an act of high treason. Any such direct attempt in the case of the dying king, would have met the most determined resistance from those by whom he was surrounded, and in all probability would have defeated its own object. And it is plain that interference on the part of James would have been more likely, for obvious reasons, to be regarded with suspicion than on that of any other individual. It is also certain, and indeed is stated in express terms by Mr. Macaulay, that James was well acquainted with his brother's sentiments on the subject of the Church of Rome; and, from what we shall see hereafter, it is probable that he had even recent grounds for confidence in his persevering therein. He knew that Charles had been fully apprized of the danger in which he was; and he had been a witness of the determined resistance which he offered to the importunities of the Anglican bishops. It is perfectly possible, therefore, that James's delay arose from a hope that the king might himself, by an open declaration of his wishes, not only relieve him from the dangerous and embarrassing position in which he stood, but also secure more effectually the success of his design. So much is at least possible. James's subsequent conduct shows that, at least on the score of courage upon his part, there is no antecedent reason to believe it improbable. And, in considering the causes of the delay, it must not be forgotten, that it was only in the course of this day (February 5) that the king's case, though alarming from the commencement, had become absolutely hopeless. So far, therefore, the case is not, to say the least, clear against James.

Fortunately, however, the real motives of James's conduct do not rest upon mere probabilities. Mr. Macaulay's authorities for his narrative of Charles's death are very numerous: "Clarke's Life of James II., Barillon's Despatch, Feb. 1st, 1685; Citters's Despatches, Huddleston's Narrative, Chesterfield's Letters, Sir Henry Ellis's Original Letters, First and Second Series; Chaillot MS., Burnet, Evelyn's Diary, Welwood's Memoirs, North's Life of Guilford, North's Examen, Hawkin's Life of Ken, Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis*, Sir H. Halford's

Essay on Deaths of Eminent Persons, Letter of Lord Bruce, and a Broadside in the British Museum." We have examined all these authorities, with the exception of Citters's Despatches, which are in the (inedited) Mackintosh Collection. With the exception of four—viz., Burnet, Barillon's Despatch, the Queen's (Mary of Modena) Narrative in the Chaillot MS., and James's own Narrative in Clarke's Life—none of the writers enumerated above touch the precise point in question,—that is, the conduct of James upon the occasion, and the motives under which he acted. Of the four who do refer to it, Burnet is decidedly against Mr. Macaulay's view :

"On Thursday," says he, "a second fit returned ; and then the physicians told the Duke, that the King was not likely to live a day to an end. The Duke immediately ordered Huddleston, the priest that had had a great hand in saving the King at Worcester fight, to be brought to the lodgings under the bed-chamber."—i. 607.

Burnet, however, was not an eye-witness of the affair ; and the really important narratives are those of Barillon, of the Queen, and of James himself. Mr. Macaulay's account, as will at once be seen, is founded upon the first-named, Barillon. His Despatch of Feb. 1st, 1685, contains a very detailed narrative of the king's last hours, although it is quite clear throughout that the writer wishes to make the most of the part taken by himself in the transaction, and "esteems himself happy that God had given him the grace to have a share in it." But of the two other very important narratives of the affair, although both are referred to among his authorities, Mr. Macaulay makes no account whatever,—neither of that by James himself, preserved among the Stuart papers ; nor of that given during their exile by the queen, Mary of Modena, to the nuns at Chaillot, and taken down by them in writing from her dictation.

Now Mary's narrative makes it plain that James not only did not feel the indifference which Mr. Macaulay imputes to him, but that, long before the interference of Barillon, his thoughts had been anxiously turned to his brother's spiritual condition. On the first day of his illness, the queen (of Charles II.) came to Mary.

"'My sister,' said she to her, 'I beg you to tell the duke, who knows, as I do, the king's sentiments on the Catholic religion, to do

what he can *to profit by some favourable moment.* After this the queen dowager retired. The queen, who was then Duchess of York, stopt in the room to speak to the duke. She said that she was more than an hour before he even cast an eye on her, so occupied was he with the condition of his brother, the king. At last, chancing to look at her, she made a sign to him that she had something to say to him. He drew close to her, and she told him what the queen, her sister-in-law, had said to her. '*I know it,*' said he. '*It is the only subject of my thoughts.*' (*Je ne pense qu'à cela.*)"*

It is plain from this account, that from the commencement of Charles's illness, James had been full of anxiety for his conversion; and he but waited, as the queen had advised, a favourable opportunity of approaching so delicate and dangerous an enterprise. That favourable opportunity arose when the king declined the ministrations of the Anglican bishops; nor does it appear that, up to this time, any serious, or at least imminent, danger of his interference being too late, had seemed to arise. The queen's account of his anxiety about his brother, we should add, is confirmed by the other witnesses to whom Mr. Macaulay refers among his authorities, though without adverting to this circumstance. "The duke," says Evelyn, "was almost continually kneeling by the bedside, and in tears."† And the writer of the letter in the *Ellis Correspondence* adds: "There was so much affection and tenderness expressed between the two royal brothers—the one on the bed, the other almost drowned in tears, upon his knees, and kissing of his dying brother's hand—as could not but extremely move the standers-by," (iii. 335-6.)

James's own account precisely corresponds with the view which we have suggested.

"The Duke (of York), who stood at this time by his Majesty's bedside, seeing that, notwithstanding the Bishops' solicitations, he would not receive the communion from them, and knowing the King's sentiments in matters of religion, concerning which he had lately had frequent conferences with him, thought it a fit opportunity to remind him of it, and therefore, desiring the company to stand a little from the bed, said: He was overjoyed to find his Majesty in the same mind he was when he spoke lately to him in his closet

* *Recit de la Mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre, Charles II.* Appended to Sir James Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, p. 718.

† Evelyn's *Diary*, Feb. 4, 1685, vol. iii. p. 131.

about religion, at which time he was pleased to show him a paper he had writ himself of controversy, and therefore asked him if he desired he should send a priest to him.*

The delay, therefore, arose, not from the disgraceful selfishness to which Mr. Macaulay attributes it, but from the want of a fitting opportunity; and the "fitting opportunity," which the duke had desired, did not present itself till after Charles had declined the services of the Anglican bishops. This cannot have been till late in the day, and Barillon spoke to James soon after five in the evening, (p. 111.) Nor does Barillon's account, if construed fairly, at all imply that, until reminded of his duty by him, James had forgotten the care of his brother's salvation. If we take his own words, and not Mr. Macaulay's paraphrase, (though this, perhaps, is accidental,) they will be found rather to confirm, than to clash with our view of James's conduct. "You are right," was James's reply to Barillon's message from the Duchess of Portsmouth; "you are right: there is no time to lose," (*Il n'y a pas de tems à perdre*,) (p. 112,) clearly implying, that the question in his mind was but a question of time, and that his mind was already made up on the subject of interference.

We cannot help considering it strange that, in forming his estimate of James's conduct in this matter, Mr. Macaulay did not think it fair to give him the benefit of testimonies which surely deserve some consideration. When there are but three witnesses of the transaction, it seems hardly just to overlook two of them altogether, and one of these two the chief actor in the affair.

Indeed, it would seem as if Mr. Macaulay had himself some misgiving of its unfairness. At least, so we understand an attempt which he makes (in a note, p. 440) to weaken the credit of the relation given by the royal exiles to the nuns of Chaillot, by representing that James and his wife could not agree regarding it. Now even here we must say he does not act with perfect fairness. "*The Queen*," he writes, "*said*, that after Charles had received the last sacraments, the Protestant bishops renewed their sollicita-

* Life of James II., from the Stuart Papers, i. 727. We should observe that the passage cited is not from the biographer of James, but from his own MS. incorporated in the work, and preserved also by Macpherson in the State Papers.

tions. The King said that no such thing had taken place. '*Surely*,' said the Queen, '*you told me so yourself.*' '*It is impossible that I could have told you so*,' said the King, 'for nothing of the sort happened.'" Now the collision of memory between James and his wife, as related by the nuns, was by no means so strong and decided as it is here reported by Mr. Macaulay; and in fact it amounted to little more than a doubt or enquiry on the part of the queen. Instead of *positively asserting the fact*, as Mr. M. makes her do, she only said, "*It appears to me that you told me;*" and, when the king declared that it was not so, instead of reiterating her statement positively, with Mr. Macaulay's "*Surely you told me so yourself*," she only faintly rejoined, "*Pray, recollect yourself; I think you told me so.*"

"*Il me semble que vous m'avez dit que les Protestans vinrent encore parler au feu roi, depuis qu'il eut fait son abjuration.*" 'Non,' dit le Roi, 'je ne vous l'ai dit.' '*Rappelez votre memoire,*' repend la Reine, '*je pense que vous me l'avez dit.*'—Mackintosh, App. 719.

The same passage, by the way, affords another curious little illustration of Mr. Macaulay's love of exaggeration, even in the few words which, as the reader will remember, he devotes to Father Huddleston, the priest through whose ministry Charles was received into the Church. Huddleston, from the little that is known of him, appears to have been a man of respectable talents and acquirements. He had acted as tutor to several Catholic youths of family,—Sir John Preston, Mr. Thomas Palin, and Mr. Francis Reynolds; he writes like an educated man; and the circumstance of his having edited the controversial treatise of his uncle, Richard Huddleston, may be taken as an evidence of his own literary capacity.* Barillon, however, in telling of Huddleston's interview with Charles, passinglly observes, that the Count Castel Melhor "had him instructed by a Portuguese

* See "A Short and Plain Way to the Church," (by his uncle, Richard Huddleston,) edited by him, with Preface and Appendix. See also "*Boscobel*," appended to the "Memoirs of Grammont," Bohn's edit., p. 511; and the "Summary of Occurrences relating to the Escape of Charles II.," Catholic Library, vol. ii. p. 59. Also Dodd, iii. 490.

Carmelite in what he had to say to the King, *for he was of himself no great doctor.*" It would not have been any disgrace to even a "greater doctor" than Father Huddleston, to have asked advice in a matter of such exceeding difficulty; but it appears from Huddleston's own account, that the service rendered to him by this Portuguese Carmelite was of a very different character. Huddleston not having had time to bring the Most Holy Sacrament with him, the Portuguese ecclesiastic "proffered himself to go to St. James's and bring it with him," (p. 44;) and there is not a word of his having asked or received any instruction from him.* But even Barillon's language is not striking enough for Mr. Macaulay. Barillon's "*no great doctor,*" he transforms into an "*honest monk, so illiterate that he did not know what he ought to say;*" and he suppresses altogether the favourable clause which Barillon subjoins, "that he (Huddleston) acquitted himself very well in his function," (p. 119.)

We cannot resist the temptation of placing in contrast with this harsh and unsparing censure of James's motives, a specimen of Mr. Macaulay's mode of dealing with the motives of those with whose political opinions and relations he happens to sympathize. We shall take a precisely analogous case—the alleged heartless and undutiful conduct of the Princess Mary towards her fallen father, on the occasion of her joining William in England after the completion of the Revolution. Her deportment under these peculiar circumstances was watched with no little interest, and much curiosity was expressed as to her probable demeanour upon an occasion, where, in her exaltation to her father's throne, her ambition as a queen had only been gratified at the expense of her duty and affection as a daughter. Whatever may have been the real sentiments of her heart, her external conduct unhappily presented all the appearance of insensibility, and even of worse; and her seeming forgetfulness of the feelings of a daughter provoked a silent but indignant belief that, in the strong language of the day, "*Queen Mary had no bowels.*" "*I was one of those,*" says the Duchess of Marlborough, "*who had the honour to wait on her to her own apartment. She ran about, looking into every closet and convenience, and turning up the quilts upon*

* Huddleston's account is confirmed by Burnet, i. 607.

the bed, as people do when they come to an inn, and with no other sort of concern in her appearance than such as they express ;—a behaviour which, though I was caressed by her at the time, I thought very strange ; for, whatever necessity there was for deposing King James, he was still her father, who had been so lately driven from that apartment.”* This account is fully borne out by all the contemporary writers.

“It was believed,” says Evelyn, “that both, especially the Princess, would have shew’d some (seeming) reluctance at least of assuming her father’s crown, and made some apology, testifying her regret that he should, by his mismanagement, necessitate the nation to so extraordinary a proceeding ; which would have shew’d very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety ; consonant also to her husband’s first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the king, but of succouring the nation ; but nothing of all this appeared : she came into Whitehall, laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undresse, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from roome to roome to see the convenience of Whitehall ; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queene lay ; and, within a night or two, sate down to play at basset, as the Queene, her predecessor, used to do.”—*Evelyn’s Diary*, iii. 271-2.

On this strange proceeding Mr. Macaulay writes as follows :

“On the eleventh of February the ship in which the Princess of Orange had embarked lay off Margate, and, on the following morning, anchored at Greenwich. She was received with many signs of joy and affection : but her demeanour shocked the Tories, and was not thought faultless even by the Whigs. A young woman, placed, by a destiny as mournful and awful as that which brooded over the fabled houses of Labdacus and Pelops, in such a situation that she could not, without violating her duty to her God, her husband, and her country, refuse to take her seat on the throne from which her father had just been hurled, should have been sad, or at least serious. Mary was not merely in high, but in extravagant, spirits. She entered Whitehall, it was asserted, with a girlish delight at being mistress of so fine a house, ran about the rooms, peeped into the closets, and examined the quilt of the state bed, without seeming to remember by whom those stately apartments had last been occupied. Burnet, who had, till then, thought her an angel in human form, could not, on this

* Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 26-7.

occasion, refrain from blaming her. He was the more astonished because, when he took leave of her at the Hague, she had, though fully convinced that she was in the path of duty, been deeply dejected. To him, as to her spiritual guide, she afterwards explained her conduct. William had written to inform her that some of those who had tried to separate her interests from his still continued their machinations: they gave it out that she thought herself wronged; and, if she wore a gloomy countenance, the report would be confirmed. He therefore intreated her to make her first appearance with an air of cheerfulness. Her heart, she said, was far indeed from cheerful: but she had done her best; and, as she was afraid of not sustaining well a part which was uncongenial to her feelings, she had over-acted it. Her deportment was the subject of reams of scurrility in prose and verse; it lowered her in the opinion of some whose esteem she valued; nor did the world know, till she was beyond the reach of praise and censure, that the conduct which had brought on her the reproach of levity and insensibility, was really a signal instance of that perfect disinterestedness and selfdevotion of which man seems to be incapable, but which is sometimes found in woman."—vol. ii. 658-659.

How different the mode of judging here adopted towards the Whig daughter from that which he pursues with reference to her unhappy father! In considering James's motives, Mr. Macaulay takes no notice whatever of his own written statement; he treats the circumstantial narrative of the queen with equal disregard; and, although James's acts, even in themselves, are fairly susceptible of another and equally feasible explanation, Mr. Macaulay unhesitatingly affixes to them the very worst and blackest which they could possibly admit. But when there is question of his favourite Mary, in defiance of all seeming probabilities, and in opposition to the universal opinion of friends as well as enemies at the time, he receives without a single expression of doubt, much less of distrust, her own unsupported declaration, made long after the fact, put forward in deprecation of the censure with which she found it had been visited, and not even reported by herself, or by any other unsuspected witness, but by her most devoted and thorough-going partisan and apologist, Burnet. Unhappily, too, there is much in the affair for which even this explanation will not satisfactorily account. If the motives which she alleged could explain the assumption of such insensibility in the presence of the court and of the public, it is but a poor excuse for the unfeeling levity

which marked even her most private hours. Her conduct even before William's arrival in England, on occasion of the public fast ordered at the Hague for the success of the expedition against her father, had given ground for a similar imputation;* and, what is worst of all, the treachery and deceitfulness observable in her correspondence with her unsuspecting father regarding the proposed invasion, go far to destroy the credit of any unsupported testimony which she might offer in her own vindication.†

And we cannot help adding that, whatever conclusion the reader may come to upon the question as far as it concerns the Princess Mary, he cannot fail to be struck by the difference of the tone adopted by Mr. Macaulay in her regard, from that which he uniformly maintains towards her ill-fated father. Mr. Macaulay has not spared even Mary of Modena, James's ill-fated queen, for whom Miss Strickland's recent Biography has excited so much sympathy and admiration.

"She seems to have been one of that large class of persons who bear adversity better than prosperity. While her husband was a subject and an exile, shut out from public employment, and in imminent danger of being deprived of his birthright, the suavity and humility of her manners conciliated the kindness even of those who most abhorred her religion. But when her good fortune came her good nature disappeared. The meek and affable duchess turned out an ungracious and haughty queen. The misfortunes which she subsequently endured have made her an object of some interest; but that interest would be not a little heightened if it could be shown that, in the season of her greatness, she saved, or even tried to save, one single victim from the most frightful proscription that England has ever seen. Unhappily the only request that she is known to have preferred touching the rebels, was, that a hundred of those who were sentenced to transportation might be given to her. The profit which she cleared on the cargo, after making large allowance for those who died of hunger and fever during the passage, cannot be estimated at less than a thousand guineas."—pp. 654-5.

For the charge of haughtiness and ungraciousness we are referred to a scurrilous couplet from some unknown doggerel poet of the day, in which the queen is called "a

* D'Avaux, vi. 153.

† See James's affectionate and confiding letters to her in Miss Strickland's "Mary II."—*Lives of the Queens*, x. 376, &c.

furious, raging devil;" to Burnet, i. 368, and "Evelyn's Diary." The value of the anonymous ballad-monger as a historical authority may be judged from the fact, that even Mr. Macaulay calls his poem "one of the *satires* of the day." Burnet certainly puts her conduct as queen in very unfavourable contrast with her manners as duchess; but Burnet was notoriously hostile to her, and unjust to her reputation; and Evelyn's report, (July 13, 1686,) amounts simply to this, that upon an occasion which would try most tempers—after a heavy loss at the card-table—he observed "that her outward affability was much changed to *stateliness*,"* (which Mr. Macaulay paraphrases *haughtiness and ungraciousness*). This, however, is perhaps an allowable exaggeration. But for what follows we can see no defence. For the odious charges of trafficking in the sale of the unhappy victims of the rebellion, and of "clearing a profit of a thousand guineas on the cargo," the authority cited is "Sunderland's Letter to Jeffreys, Sept. 14, 1685." The case to which this letter refers, is that of Monmouth's unfortunate associates in his rebellion, a large number of whom were sentenced to ten years' transportation and hard labour in the West Indies. Through a motive, apparently of shameful economy, which it is impossible to defend, these unhappy men, instead of being transported at the public cost, were assigned to several individuals, chiefly favourites of the court, who, on condition of their giving security for the safe detention of the convicts, were permitted to sell their services to the West Indian planters, and thus make a profit (as Jeffreys calculated) of from ten to fifteen pounds on each individual. This vile traffic in human flesh is what Mr. Macaulay imputes to the Queen. Now, though it cannot be denied that her name is mixed up with the transaction in Sunderland's letter, nevertheless, the part which she is reported by him to have taken is very different from the disgraceful traffic which Mr. Macaulay imputes to her, *as though she had traded in the convicts upon her own behalf, and cleared for her own benefit a profit of a thousand guineas*. Sunderland informs Jeffreys that certain specified numbers of the convicts had been assigned by the king to six different courtiers whom he enumerates, and subjoins in a

* Diary of Evelyn, III., 213.

postscript, "The Queen has asked a hundred more of the rebels who are to be transported—*when I know for whom you shall hear from me again.*"* It is clear from this that several lots of the prisoners had already been assigned to different parties; and the whole amount of the Queen's interference was, that she was induced to request that, out of a number of prisoners who would in any case be assigned to some one, a hundred might be given to an individual whom she was prevailed on to recommend. Now though we are far from attempting to justify or even to palliate such a proceeding, (unless it may perhaps be excused on the ground of the exceeding simplicity of her disposition, and her imperfect acquaintance with the laws and usages of England,) yet it is very different in its character from what Mr. Macaulay with so much bitterness imputes to her. And what makes his allegation the more unpardonable is, that he could have found the truth, not only in the very sentence of Sunderland's letter to which he refers, but even in the text of Sir James Mackintosh's History,† from which, though without acknowledgment, he takes the statement.

We have said, however, that Mr. Macaulay is especially severe on the converts to Popery in James's reign. There is no doubt that some of these converts were such as no Church need have desired; and we should be sorry to say a word in defence of such venal proselytes as Sunderland, Perth, Melfort, Haines, or Anthony Farmer, or such weak and unstable ones as Bernard or Sclater. But what we complain of in Mr. Macaulay is, that, here as elsewhere, true to this principle of supporting his own "view," he puts these and such as these forward, as the exclusive representatives of the class of converts, and suppresses altogether every notice of the converts of unsuspected integrity and of unwavering fidelity under every subsequent trial. Mr. Macaulay's specimens are all such as those we have enumerated, or at least he does his best to make them appear so. We hear nothing of such men as Sir Henry Fletcher, who, after his conversion, devoted a large portion of his property to religious uses—as Francis Nicholson, who, before he declared himself a Catholic at all, had sacrificed all hopes of preferment in the Church by

* See the Letter in the Appendix of Sir J. Mackintosh, p. 686.

† "One hundred on a favourite of the Queen."

opinions similar to those of the Tractarians of our own time—of Thomas Deane, who, at the Revolution, not only forfeited all his preferments, but was twice imprisoned as a priest, and exposed in the pillory; of John Goad, who, even in the Anglican Church, had been a sufferer for his religious convictions; refused, when deprived of his fellowship by the parliamentary visitation, to accept the offer of reinstatement made to him upon terms which his conscientious convictions would not permit him to accept; and afterwards, upon similar grounds, was deprived of the mastership of Merchant Tailors' School; of Bromley, of Meredith, of Keep, and many others, who, when the day of trial arrived, gave the best proof of the sincerity of their convictions by submitting, some to persecution at home, some to voluntary exile and poverty, for the faith which they had adopted.

But we have further to complain that, even in those converts of whom he does speak, he will not admit a single merit, and in their conversion not a single motive, beyond the base and unworthy impulse of self-interest. We should be sorry, for example, to break a lance for so weak a vessel as Sclater, who, after being received into the Church in the beginning of 1686, read his recantation of the errors of popery on May 5, 1689. Still, while we can hardly dissent from Mr. Macaulay's strength of language when he calls Sclater "a wretch," we think, nevertheless, that his zeal carries him a little too far, when he ascribes Sclater's apostacy to his "determination to keep his living at all costs, and through all changes," (ii. 86.) If Sclater had no motive but this, he might have held fast to the Church of England, for not even in James's moments of most fiery zeal did he contemplate the deprivation of incumbents who should refuse to conform to the Church of Rome.

So, again, of John Massey, whom James selected for his most imprudent and unfortunate experiment of appointing a Catholic to the deanery of Christchurch, Mr. Macaulay says, (ii. 88), that "he had not a single recommendation, except that he was a member of the Church of Rome." Now, although we should be sorry to justify his appointment, it is certain, nevertheless, that Massey was not without recommendations. He was a man "of good repute in the university." He was "well skilled in

classics,"* and, even by the admission of Wood, took an active part in the promotion of physical science at Oxford.† He was an esteemed preacher, and a man of mild and inoffensive behaviour; and there can be no better evidence of his merit, and of his legitimate claims for preferment, than that the very year before his nomination to the deanery of Christchurch, while he was still an Anglican, and during the reign of Charles II., he had been elected one of the proctors of the university.‡ Nor is there, though Mr. Macaulay has not alluded to the circumstance, any room for imputation upon his constancy in the new faith. He escaped with some difficulty from England; and, after residing for some time at Douay, he was admitted to priest's orders, and lived in high repute at Paris as chaplain and confessor to the convent of the Conception, till his death in 1715.

But there is none of the converts with whom Mr. Macaulay deals so hardly as the celebrated Obadiah Walker. "Base," "infamous," "rancorous," "renegade," are among the epithets by which he describes him; and, after detailing his proceedings during the two years and a half of the ascendancy of his party, he concludes:

"But when fortune turned, he showed that he wanted the courage of a martyr. He was brought to the bar of the House of Commons to answer for his conduct, and was base enough to protest that he had never changed his religion, that he had never cordially approved of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and that he had never tried to bring any other person within the pale of that Church. It was hardly worth while," he concludes, "to violate the most sacred obligations of law and of pledged faith for the purpose of making such converts as these."—ii. p. 87.

Now this is, indeed, the extreme of exaggeration. Obadiah Walker may not, it is true, have had the courage of a martyr; but his conduct and character were very different from what is here represented, and to apply to him such epithets as "base," "infamous," and, above all, "rancorous," is entirely unwarranted by the facts of his case. He was a student of University College, where he took

* Dodd's History, iii. p. 478, citing Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, and the *Diary of Douay College*.

† Wood's *Life*, prefixed to the *Athenæ Oxon.*, p. xcviij.

‡ *Fasti Oxonienses*, Bliss's Edit. ii. 393.

his degree in 1631, and having obtained a fellowship in 1635, became, according to Wood, "a noted tutor."^{*} At the time of the parliamentary visitation he was deprived of his fellowship, but was reinstated at the Restoration; and it is no slight evidence of a disinterested and unworldly spirit, that although, according to Wood,[†] "he might have been elected master of his college upon the death of Dr. Thomas Walker in 1665, he refused it, choosing rather to live an obscure and retired life;" and that he was only induced, ten years afterwards, to accept the same office, when it again became vacant, in order to prevent the appointment of a stranger. He had long been suspected of a leaning towards the Catholic Church, and in reality his principles were at all times strongly catholic. The days of Oates and Bedloe, however, were not favourable to the development of Catholic principles, and Walker appears, like many eminent men of our own day, to have believed for a time in the compatibility of the external communion of the Anglican Church with the maintenance of all essential Catholic principles. At length, when, upon the accession of James, the profession of Catholicism became once more free, he declared himself a Catholic. But, by so doing, he neither sought nor obtained any preferment or emolument; and, indeed, such a supposition is not only at variance with the disinterestedness which he had already evinced, but with his character as drawn even by those who condemned his so-called apostasy. "He was a man of good reputation for learning and good morals," says William Smith. "I have many good things to say of him, as that he was *neither proud nor covetous*."[‡] It is curious to contrast the candid and liberal tone in which Wood himself speaks of Walker's conversion to Catholicity, with Mr. Macaulay's petulant and angry invective.

"He was made," says Wood, "I may say, for such an employ, by reason of his great prudence and discretion, his *philosophical and impassionate temper*, and, lastly, by his great love of a private and sedate life, joyned with a great hatred of idleness, both in himself and others. This love of active solitude in him, was *much improved and heightened by his afflictions occasioned by his declaring himself a*

* Athenæ Oxon. ii. 934.

† Ibid.

‡ Cited by Wood, Bliss's Edit., iv. 444.

papist, which did only give him the means and advantage of pursuing what he loved best with a less distraction, verifying and experiencing in himself what old St. Hierom in his grot of Bethlehem, after the like laborious age spent in learning and travels."—pp. 935-6.

How far Mr. Macaulay's concluding statement is borne out by the facts, the reader must judge from the authorities which he cites, viz.: "Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa; Dodd, viii. 2, 3; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses; Ellis Correspondence, Feb. 27, 1685: Commons' Journal, Oct. 26, 1689." Of these, Gutch (i. 87-8) merely gives the king's patent of dispensation from attendance at chapel, and the royal license for printing; the Ellis Correspondence only mentions the fact of Walker's daily hearing mass in his college, "with four fellows, and eleven others of the same society," (i. 55;) Wood's account we have for the most part already seen, but he further gives the extract from the Commons' Journals referred to by Mr. Macaulay.*

Now we must say, that upon this extract Mr. Macaulay puts a very unfair and illiberal construction. It is impossible to read the passage which we cited from him, without understanding that, when fortune turned, Walker changed his religion once again, and renounced popery, as he had before abandoned the Church of England. Now nothing could be more untrue than this. Upon the arrival of William in England, Walker left Oxford and attempted to withdraw to France; but on December 11, 1688, he was arrested at Feversham, and committed to the Tower. On the 25th of the following October, he, together with several others, applied at Westminster Hall to be admitted to bail; but, instead of being admitted to bail, Walker was cited to the bar of the House of Commons, and put to trial on three charges:—"first, for changing his religion; secondly, for seducing others to do it; thirdly, for keeping a mass-house in the University of Oxford." To these charges (which, be it remembered, amounted to the crime of high treason) he was called on to plead, and the answer which he gave in, and which Wood has preserved, constituted, of course, his legal plea to the indictment. We have never heard that a plea of "Not Guilty" is considered "base" or "infamous" in a prisoner upon trial for his life; and, although Walker's answer certainly does not

* Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 935.

bespeak "the courage of a martyr," it is a grievous injustice, nevertheless, to represent it as deserving of either epithet. At all events, whatever may be our judgment regarding its merits, Mr. Macaulay, in his paraphrase, misrepresents it in a most important particular.

He charges Walker with being "base enough to protest that he had never changed his religion, and had never *cordially approved* of the doctrines of the Church of Rome." Walker's real answer was: "I cannot say that I ever altered my religion, or that my principles do now wholly agree with those of the Church of Rome. Mr. Anderson was my governor and director, and *from him in my youth I learned those principles which I have since avowed*. IF THEY WERE POPISH, *I have not altered my religion* ; and they will not be found *wholly agreeable with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church*." It is plain, indeed, that Walker's plea was carefully framed to meet the terms of the indictment. Charged with "changing his religion," he cautiously declines to admit "that he has ever altered his religion." But what is the sense in which he makes this declaration? Is it, as Mr. Macaulay's report of his words would imply, because he "*never cordially approved of the doctrines of the Church of Rome*," and was not sincere in his profession of Roman Catholic principles at the time when he avowed them? The very reverse is plain from his own declaration. He "cannot say that he ever altered his religion," not because, when he seemed to do so, he did not cordially and in his conscience approve the new doctrine which he avowed: but because "*from his youth he had learned the principles which he then avowed, and consequently, if these principles were Popish, he did not change his religion*." It is clear, indeed, that this plea was designedly so worded as to contain a legal and technical denial of the charge, without at the same time disavowing his belief; and if Walker added, that his principles "would not be found *wholly agreeable* with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church," he only took advantage of the discrepancy between the Roman or Ultramontane doctrines, and the Gallican principles, which he, in common with most of the English divines of the time, professed; an advantage which, although perhaps somewhat disingenuous, it is hard to reprobate in a prisoner upon a capital charge putting in

his plea, and which undoubtedly Mr. Macaulay has no right to denounce as without foundation, professing, as he does, that the ultramontane doctrine "differed almost as much from the doctrine of Bossuet as from that of Luther," (ii. 58.)

In reporting Walker's plea to the second charge, Mr. Macaulay throws in another little shade of colour, which, though it be not a very dark one, yet happens, nevertheless, to tell unfavourably for Walker's sincerity. He represents Walker as "professing that he *had never tried to bring any other person within the pale of the Church of Rome.*"

What Walker did say was, that he had never *seduced others to that Church*; and the distinction, besides being of some importance for its own sake, is also worthy of notice as further confirming what we have all along insisted, that Walker sought in his plea to confine himself to the strict and technical words of the indictment, which was "*for seducing others to the Church of Rome.*"

But, whatever may be our opinion as to the justifiableness of the line of defence adopted by Walker, certainly it appears most unfair in Mr. Macaulay to make the impression that his conduct amounted to a renunciation of Popery. Although this is not stated in so many words, yet it is impossible to read the passage without receiving that impression. Now, it is not only untrue in itself, but is shown to be such by the very authorities which Mr. Macaulay cites. Walker was sent back from the Commons' bar to the Tower, "for treason, as having changed his religion, and seduced others so to do."* In the next year he was discharged "upon good security;" but he was excepted by name from the act of pardon granted on the 23rd of the following May. He found means, however, soon afterwards to withdraw to France; but he returned to England, and continued to practise the Catholic faith till his death, which occurred in London, January 31, 1699, in the 86th year of his age. "He was buried," adds the same authority,† "in the church of St. Pancras, the common place of sepulture for Roman Catholics, with the inscription, *Per bonam famam et infamiam, Obiit Jan. 31, 1699. Æt. 86.*"

But the truth is, that Mr. Macaulay cannot find it in

* Wood, Ibid.

† Bliss's Wood, iv. 444.

his heart to give even a good word to one of these ill-starred converts. He cannot mention the fact of Lord Peterborough's becoming a Catholic, without adding (on the authority of a satirical poem) that people "comforted themselves for his defection, by remarking that he had not changed his religion till he had outlived his faculties." (ii. 196.) To destroy the weight of that of the Earl of Salisbury, he appeals to what he himself, with singular and unaccountable candour, designates as "popular lampoons" and "coarse pasquinades," as evidence that he "was foolish to a proverb," (ii. 197.) But he does not tell of either of these noblemen, that, after the Revolution, even when, to apply his own favourite test, "fortune had turned," their fidelity to their new faith was rewarded by an impeachment for high treason;* and that, besides the earl himself, three other members of the house of Salisbury, his wife and his two brothers, were, about the same time with himself, admitted into the Church of Rome.†

There is another convert of those days whose fair fame is dearer to us than almost all the rest, and whom, nevertheless, Mr. Macaulay treats with singular harshness and acerbity.

"With the name of Haines was joined, in many libels, the name of a more illustrious renegade, John Dryden. Dryden was now approaching the decline of life. After many successes and many failures, he had at length attained, by general consent, the first place among living English poets. His claims on the gratitude of James were superior to those of any man of letters in the kingdom. But James cared little for verses and much for money. From the day of his accession he set himself to make small economical reforms, such as bring on a government the reproach of meanness without producing any perceptible relief to the finances. One of the victims of his injudicious parsimony was the poet laureate. Orders were given that, in the new patent which the demise of the crown made necessary, the annual butt of sack originally granted to Jonson, and continued to Jonson's successors, should be omitted. This is the only notice which the king, during the first year of his reign, deigned to bestow on the mighty satirist, who, in the very crisis of the great struggle of the Exclusion Bill, had spread terror through the Whig ranks. Dryden was poor and impatient of poverty. He knew little and cared little about reli-

* Ellis Correspondence, i. 182.

† Dodd, iii. 447.

gion. If any sentiment was deeply fixed in him, that sentiment was an aversion to priests of all persuasions, Levites, augurs, muftis, Roman Catholic divines, Presbyterian divines, divines of the Church of England. He was not naturally a man of high spirit; and his pursuits had been by no means such as were likely to give elevation or delicacy to his mind. He had, during many years, earned his daily bread by pandering to the vicious taste of the pit, and by grossly flattering rich and noble patrons. Self respect and a fine sense of the becoming were not to be expected from one who had led a life of mendicancy and adulation. Finding that, if he continued to call himself a Protestant, his services would be overlooked, he declared himself a Papist. The king's parsimony instantly relaxed. Dryden was gratified with a pension of a hundred pounds a year, and was employed to defend his new religion both in prose and verse.

"Two eminent men, Samuel Johnson and Walter Scott, have done their best to persuade themselves and others that this memorable conversion was sincere. It was natural that they should be desirous to remove a disgraceful stain from the memory of one whose genius they justly admired, and with whose political feelings they strongly sympathized; but the impartial historian must with regret pronounce a very different judgment. There will always be a strong presumption against the sincerity of a conversion by which the convert is directly a gainer. In the case of Dryden there is nothing to countervail this presumption. His theological writings abundantly prove that he had never sought with diligence and anxiety to learn the truth, and that his knowledge both of the Church which he quitted and of the Church which he entered was of the most superficial kind. Nor was his subsequent conduct that of a man whom a strong sense of duty had constrained to take a step of awful importance. Had he been such a man, the same conviction which had led him to join the Church of Rome would surely have prevented him from violating grossly and habitually rules which that church, in common with every other Christian society, recognises as binding. There would have been a marked distinction between his earlier and his latter compositions. He would have looked back with remorse on a literary life of near thirty years, during which his rare powers of diction and versification had been systematically employed in spreading moral corruption. Not a line tending to make virtue contemptible, or to inflame licentious desire, would thenceforth have proceeded from his pen. The truth unhappily is that the dramas which he wrote after his pretended conversion are in no respect less impure or profane than those of his youth. Even when he professed to translate he constantly wandered from his originals in search of images which, if he had found them in his originals, he ought to have shunned. What was bad became worse in his versions. What was innocent contracted a taint from passing through his

mind. He made the grossest satires of Juvenal more gross, interpolated loose descriptions in the tales of Boccaccio, and polluted the sweet and limpid poetry of Georgics with filth which would have moved the loathing of Virgil."—vol. ii. pp. 198—200.

We cannot help fancying that if Mr. Macaulay, like Johnson and Walter Scott, had "strongly sympathized with Dryden's political (and still more with his religious) feelings," he, too, impartial as he desires to be, would have "done his best to persuade himself that Dryden's conversion was sincere;" what is more, we are not without our suspicions that he might possibly have succeeded. It is quite true that there will always be a presumption against the sincerity of a conversion, where the convert is directly a gainer. But in Dryden's case neither the gain nor the temptation was so enormous as need have ripened Mr. Macaulay's suspicions so rapidly into certainty.

(1) Mr. Macaulay does not seem to be aware that, besides "the annual butt of sack," to which he appears to attribute so much influence, Dryden was, at the accession of James, and had been since 1670, in the enjoyment of a pension of £200. a-year as Historiographer Royal, in which office he succeeded Howell, who died in 1666, and as Poet Laureate, in which he succeeded D'Avenant, who died in 1668; his total income, from various sources, is estimated by Sir W. Scott at above three times that sum; and although it is quite true that, after his conversion, James increased his pension by an additional £100., there is not the slightest ground for asserting that he apprehended the loss of the £200. which he actually held, had he chosen to remain a Protestant.

(2) The presumption against Dryden's sincerity from the licentiousness of his writings after his conversion, is much too strongly put forward. Mr. Macaulay has strangely overstated the comparative grossness of Dryden's translations of Juvenal, as contrasted with the original; and although it is true that his translation of Boccaccio's *Sigismunda* is, in some passages, more licentious than the original, it must also be admitted that, in the selection of tales from this author for translation, he avoided all those which are most remarkable for their indecency. Mr. Macaulay, moreover, has overlooked altogether the palliation which the unfortunately universal licentiousness of the literature of the time is com-

monly regarded as supplying;—a consideration of some importance in the case of one whose personal morality is unimpeached;—and although we should be sorry to insist upon such a line of justification, yet it cannot be rejected with a good grace by a writer who does not consider even the actual “libertinism” of a *Protestant convert from Popery* any argument of the insufficiency of the motives by which he was led to “declare himself a Protestant.”* It is not easy to read Mr. Macaulay’s strictures on Dryden’s conversion to Popery, and his account of the Earl of Shrewsbury’s conversion to Protestantism, without feeling to which side the historian himself inclines.

(3) In the next place, we must be permitted to differ from Mr. Macaulay’s estimate of Dryden’s theological information and ability. The few pieces of a theological character which he has left are not such as to require, or indeed to admit, much profundity or erudition. The controversy with Stillingfleet, on which Mr. Macaulay dwells very much, was a most unfair test of Dryden’s learning, as well as of his argumentative powers. Having turned exclusively on the defence of the well-known paper written by the first Duchess of York, it was little more than a mere personal controversy, and afforded no room for an exhibition of theological knowledge. In the *Religio Laici*, written while he was still an Anglican, and the celebrated “Hind and Panther,” composed after his conversion, any attempt at a display of learning or research would have been even more ridiculously misplaced; the topics selected in both are precisely those in which erudition and authority are least required, and which, as resting chiefly upon reason and argumentation, are best suited to the necessarily light and popular character of poetical polemics. But it is impossible to read either poem without being struck by the justice and solidity of the views, the subtlety of the argumentation, the vigour of the thoughts, and the accuracy of the ideas which pervade them. And it is well worthy of remark, as throwing great light upon the probable grounds of Dryden’s conversion, that in the former poem, written while he was still an Anglican, we find very clear evidence of the writer’s incipient dissatisfaction with his position in

* See his sketch of the Earl of Shrewsbury, ii. 320-2.

the Anglican Church, and, coupled with a recognition of the absolute necessity of some authority in matters of faith, his anxious longing for some more certain and authoritative tribunal than exists in the Church of England. Thus he distinctly recognizes the value of tradition when it is ascertained to be primitive :

"Not that tradition's parts are useless here,
When general, old, disinterested, clear ;
That ancient Fathers thus expound the page,
Gives truth the reverend majesty of age ;
Confirms its force by biding every test,
For best authorities, next rules, are best ;
And still, the nearer to the spring we go,
More limpid, more unsoiled, the waters flow.
Thus, *first, traditions were a proof alone,*
Could we be certain such they were, so known.

* * * *

Tradition written, therefore, more commends
Authority, than what from voice descends ;
And this, as perfect as its kind can be,
Rolls down to us the sacred history,
Which, from the universal Church received,
Is tried, and after for itself received."

Religio Laici, p. 47, (Scott's Dryden, vol. x.)

Yet he acknowledges the comparative inadequacy of traditions as sources of faith, from the want of a fitting tribunal to distinguish the ancient from the modern. His own opinion of the value of such a tribunal he expresses very strongly :

"*Such an omniscient Church we wish indeed,*
'Twere worth both Testaments cast in the Creed."

The correctness of this view of Dryden's opinions, as they are expressed in the "*Religio Laici*," is vouched for by a less suspected testimony than ours.

"In considering Dryden's creed, thus analyzed," says Sir Walter Scott in the preface, "I think it will appear that the author, though still holding the doctrines of the Church of England, had been biased in the course of his enquiry by those of Rome. His wish for the possibility of an infallible guide, expressed with almost indecent ardour—the difficulty, nay, it would seem, in his estimation, almost the impossibility, of discriminating between corrupted and authentic traditions, while the necessity of the latter to the interpretation of Scripture is plainly admitted, appear upon the whole to have left the poet's mind in an unpleasing state of doubt,

from which he rather escapes than is relieved."—Pref. of *Religio Laici*, vol. x. p. 7.

Such was Dryden's frame of mind while still a member of the Anglican Church. Mr. Macaulay has stated very zealously all the presumptions against Dryden's sincerity in leaving its pale. We shall venture to remind the reader of a few presumptions in its favour, which Mr. Macaulay has unaccountably overlooked. In the first place, his opinions, even while an Anglican, were such as to render the change in his views perfectly easy and natural. His family relations, too, could hardly fail to have an influence upon such a disposition as his. His wife, Lady Elizabeth, had been a Catholic for some time. His eldest son Charles, too, was a member of the same Church; and Sir Walter Scott has preserved a verse from one of the poems of the day, which seems to imply that this son had a hand in the poet's conversion.* He had, besides, notwithstanding Mr. Macaulay's attempt to depreciate them, the example of many men of learning and reputation to stimulate or encourage him. And, above all, is it fair or candid in Mr. Macaulay, while he states so rhetorically every doubt and presumption against the supposition of his sincerity, to pass by the most important and conclusive evidence upon the other side? Dryden survived the Revolution, and shared the downfall of his party. Mr. Macaulay tells us of James's cutting off the laureate's butt of sack when he came to the throne; but he says nothing of his favourite, William, upon his accession, cutting off the poor poet's whole subsistence, his pension—a still more substantial retrenchment. Did this reverse drive the convert back again to Protestantism, venal and insincere as he is represented to have been? He could easily have made his peace with the court. He had friends in both the great parties—Rochester, Leicester, and above all, Dorset—who would have gladly procured his restoration to favour, had he consented to make the necessary sacrifices; and we know from himself that one of these was the abandonment of his religion. Yet we find him, ten years after the Revolution, still in miserable poverty, writing, as follows, to his cousin, Mrs. Steward. The letter is dated November 7, 1699.

* "One son turned me, I turned the other."—State Poems, iii. 244.

"What has hindered me of writing to you, was neither ill health, nor a worse thing, ingratitude, but a flood of little businesses, which yet are necessary to my subsistence, and of which I hoped to have given you a good account before this time; but the court rather speaks kindly of me than does anything for me, though they promise largely; and perhaps they think I will advance as they go backward, in which they will be much deceived, *for I can never go an inch beyond my conscience and my honour.* If they will consider me as a man who has done my best to improve the language—and especially the poetry—and will be content with my acquiescence under the present government, and forbearing satire on it, that I can promise, because I can perform it; but I can neither *take the oaths nor forsake my religion; because I know not what church to go to, if I leave the Catholique,* they are all so divided amongst themselves in matters of faith necessary to salvation, and yet all assuming the name of Protestants. *May God be pleased to open your eyes, as He has opened mine!* Truth is but one; and they who have once heard of it, can plead no excuse if they do not embrace it. But these are things too serious for a trifling letter." -- Scott's Dryden, vol. xviii. p. 161-2.

The letter is a very simple and affecting one; and we say with great sincerity, that there is hardly anything in Mr. Macaulay's book which has pained us more than the injustice to Dryden's memory of which it forcibly reminds us.

There is another larger and more comprehensive topic, into which we had resolved to enter,—Mr. Macaulay's character of the Jesuit Society. It is one of the most elaborate and highly-wrought, and, we regret to add, the most unfair and over-drawn, sketches in the entire history. But, having written so far, we find that it would carry us far beyond what remains of our allotted space, even to notice the most prominent unfairnesses of this cruel satire. If one brief inculpatory clause, and often a single epithet, may require whole chapters for its satisfactory refutation; Mr. Macaulay's tirade against the Jesuits might well deserve a separate article, for it condenses into a few pregnant pages all the sarcasm, the bitterness, we had almost said the fanaticism, of Pascal.

Neither shall we be expected to open up the troubled question of James's policy towards Ireland, and especially towards the Irish Catholics. Perhaps we may find another opportunity of returning to this portion of the subject. But, as we referred to the subject at all, we cannot help observing the remarkable contrast between the tone adopted by Mr. Macaulay with reference to the Irish affairs of this

period, and that of his predecessor, an equally zealous Whig historian, Sir James Mackintosh. Thus, in speaking of Tyrconnel's administration, Mr. Macaulay (ii. 160) states that "Irish judges, sheriffs, juries, and witnesses were all in a league to save Irish criminals;" Sir James Mackintosh, on the contrary, (*Essay on the Revolution*, Miscel. Works, ii. 136,) admits that "it does not appear that the Catholic judges abused their power," and that "it is due to justice to remark, that the Catholic council, judges, and juries discouraged these vexatious prosecutions, and prevented them from producing any very grievous effects," (p. 132.) Sir James Mackintosh throws discredit on the story of Talbot's alleged attempt to blacken the character of the first Duchess of York, (p. 123.) Mr. Macaulay tells it without one expression of doubt, much less of disbelief,* (ii. 49.) Sir James, speaking of the dismissal of the Protestant judges, and the substitution of three Catholics in their stead, says that these three new judges—Daly, Rice, and Nugent—were all *men of unobjectionable character and competent learning in their profession*," (p. 132.) Mr. Macaulay describes one of these, Nugent, as "*a personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the English then imagined to be characteristic of the Popish Celt!*" (ii. 430.)

In truth, we have been no little surprised at the enumeration of Mr. Macaulay's prevailing authorities on Irish affairs during Tyrconnel's administration. His staple references are Clarendon, the Sheridan MS., Oldmixon's *Memoirs of Ireland*, King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, *Apology for the Protestants of Ireland, 1689*; and *Secret Consults of the Romish Party in Ireland, 1690*. Now, although Mr. Macaulay cites these habitually, and without any caution to the reader, (see ii. pp. 159, and following, 431, &c.) there is not a single one of them on which it is safe to rely. Sir James Mackintosh reminds the reader more than once (pp. 123, 134), that Clarendon and

* Talbot was undoubtedly a bad and corrupt man. But this infamy is certainly far from being established against him; and in other respects also, Mr. Macaulay's portrait of him is grossly overdrawn. For example, his alleged plan to assassinate the Duke of Ormond is, in reality, as detailed by Clarendon, far less black than in Mr. Macaulay's pages, and indeed a very different thing altogether. See Clarendon's *Life*, p. 362.

Sheridan were "both bitter enemies of Tyrconnel." Mr. Macaulay himself, speaking of the Monmouth rebellion, calls Oldmixon "the bitterest of Whig historians," (i. 614.) King's State of the Protestants Sir James Mackintosh considers "peculiarly suspicious," (p. 136,) the author being "the most zealous of Irish Protestants;" and the Protestant Apology and Secret Consults are, as indeed the very names would imply, plainly and undisguisedly partisan publications, the latter especially being a tissue of the wildest and most incredible falsehoods.

But we shall not dwell further upon these points. It is indeed an ungracious and painful task to descend to such minute (though we can honestly say, not captious) criticism of a work of such striking and unquestionable general merit. But we have felt it our duty to the principles which we hold, to guard them, by these general cautions, against even the shadow of injury inflicted under the sanction of such a name as Mr. Macaulay's. We owe it, however, to our readers, as well as to ourselves, to relieve, before we close, the monotony of this dull and tiresome scrutiny of facts and authorities, by a specimen of the lighter and more attractive chapters of Mr. Macaulay's History. We are tempted to select his sketch of the rural clergy of England at the accession of James II. It is one of the most curious passages of the celebrated third chapter; and although it is in some respects overdrawn, and has been severely criticised in several of its details, it is nevertheless on the whole substantially truthful, as well as highly characteristic of the author.

"The place of the clergyman in society had been completely changed by the Reformation. Before that event, ecclesiastics had formed the majority of the House of Lords, had, in wealth and splendour, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally held the highest civil offices. The lord treasurer was often a bishop. The lord chancellor was almost always so. The lord keeper of the privy seal and the master of the rolls were ordinarily churchmen. Churchmen transacted the most important diplomatic business. Indeed, almost all that large portion of the administration which rude and warlike nobles were incompetent to conduct, was considered as especially belonging to divines. Men, therefore, who were averse to the life of camps, and who were, at the same time, desirous to rise in the state, ordinarily received the tonsure. Among them were sons of all the most illustrious families, and near kinsmen of

the throne, Scroops and Nevilles, Bouchiers, Staffords, and Poles. To the religious houses belonged the rents of immense domains, and all that large portion of the tithe which is now in the hands of laymen. Down to the middle of the reign of Henry the Eighth, therefore, no line of life bore so inviting an aspect to ambitious and covetous natures as the priesthood. Then came a violent revolution. The abolition of the monasteries deprived the Church at once of the greater part of her wealth, and of her predominance in the upper house of parliament. There was no longer an abbot of Glastonbury or an abbot of Reading, seated among the peers, and possessed of revenues equal to those of a powerful earl. The princely splendour of William of Wykeham and of William of Waynflete had disappeared. The scarlet hat of the cardinal, the silver cross of the legate, were no more. The clergy had also lost the ascendancy which is the natural reward of superior mental cultivation. Once the circumstance that a man could read had raised a presumption that he was in orders. But in an age which produces such laymen as William Cecil and Nicholas Bacon, Roger Ascham and Thomas Smith, Walter Mildmay and Francis Walsingham, there was no reason for calling away prelates from their dioceses to negotiate treaties, to superintend the finances, or to administer justice. The spiritual character not only ceased to be a qualification for high civil office, but began to be regarded as a disqualification. Those worldly motives, therefore, which had formerly induced so many able, aspiring, and high born youths to assume the ecclesiastical habit, ceased to exist. Not one parish in two hundred then afforded what a man of family considered as a maintenance. There were still indeed prizes in the church: but they were few; and even the highest were mean, when compared with the glory which had once surrounded the princes of the hierarchy. The state kept by Parker and Grindal seemed beggarly to those who remembered the imperial pomp of Wolsey, his palaces, which had become the favourite abodes of royalty, Whitehall and Hampton Court, the three sumptuous tables daily spread in his hall, the forty-four gorgeous copes in his chapel, his running footmen in rich liveries, and his body guards with gilded pole axes. Thus the sacerdotal office lost its attraction for the higher classes. During the century which followed the accession of Elizabeth, scarce a single person of noble descent took orders. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, two sons of peers were bishops: four or five sons of peers were priests, and held valuable preferment; but these rare exceptions did not take away the reproach which lay on the body. The clergy were regarded as, on the whole, a plebeian class. And, indeed, for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants. A large proportion of those divines who had no benefices, or whose benefices were too small to afford a comfortable revenue, lived in the houses of laymen. It had long been evident that this practice

tended to degrade the priestly character. Laud had exerted himself to effect a change ; and Charles the First had repeatedly issued positive orders that none but men of high rank should presume to keep domestic chaplains. But these injunctions had become obsolete. Indeed, during the domination of the Puritans, many of the ejected ministers of the Church of England could obtain bread and shelter only by attaching themselves to the households of royalist gentlemen ; and the habits which had been formed in those times of trouble continued long after the reestablishment of monarchy and episcopacy. In the mansions of men of liberal sentiments and cultivated understandings, the chaplain was doubtless treated with urbanity and kindness. His conversation, his literary assistance, his spiritual advice, were considered as an ample return for his food, his lodging, and his stipend. But this was not the general feeling of the country gentlemen. The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young Levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener, or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. If he was permitted to dine with the family, he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots : but, as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded.

"Perhaps after some years of service he was presented to a living sufficient to support him : but he often found it necessary to purchase his preferment by a species of simony, which furnished an inexhaustible subject of pleasantry to three or four generations of scoffers. With his cure he was expected to take a wife. The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service ; and it was well if she was not suspected of standing too high in the patron's favour. Indeed, the nature of the matrimonial connections which the clergymen of that age were in the habit of forming is the most certain indication of the place which the order held in the social system. An Oxonian, writing a few months after the death of Charles the Second, complained bitterly, not only that the country attorney and the country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergyman, but that one of the lessons most earnestly inculcated on every girl of honourable family, was to give no encourage-

ment to a lover in orders, and that, if any young lady forgot this precept, she was almost as much disgraced as by an illicit amour. Clarendon, who assuredly bore no ill will to the Church, mentions it as a sign of the confusion of ranks which the great rebellion had produced, that some damsels of noble families had bestowed themselves on divines. A waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson. Queen Elizabeth, as head of the Church, had given what seemed to be a formal sanction to this prejudice, by issuing special orders that no clergyman should presume to marry a servant girl without the consent of her master or mistress. During several generations accordingly the relation between priests and handmaidens was a theme for endless jest; nor would it be easy to find, in the comedy of the seventeenth century, a single instance of a clergyman who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook. Even so late as the time of George the Second, the keenest of all observers of life and manners, himself a priest, remarked that, in a great household, the chaplain was the resource of a lady's maid whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward.

"In general the divine who quitted his chaplainship, for a benefice and a wife, found that he had only exchanged one class of vexations for another. Not one living in fifty enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holes appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of his parsonage and in his single cassock. Often it was only by toiling on his glebe, by feeding swine, and by loading duncarts, that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiffs from taking his concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service. Study he found impossible: for the avowson of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library; and he might be considered as unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dogeared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves. Even a keen and strong intellect might be expected to rust in so unfavourable a situation."—vol. i. pp. 325—30.

This curious picture of the comparative social degradation of the clergy in England after the Reformation, receives a remarkable confirmation from the similar results which followed in other countries from the same cause. One of the most striking features in Dr. Döllinger's great work on the Reformation, is his picture of the neglect, and

contempt, and wretchedness, into which the clergy were allowed to fall in the different countries of Germany.* In England it was not so bad. The maintenance of the episcopacy and the doctrine of the apostolical succession contributed to countervail the levelling influence of the principles of the Reformation; but, even in England, Mr. Macaulay's sketch, severe as it is, presents only one view of the moral and social consequences in reference to the position of the clergy which it did not fail to produce.

And now that we look back over what we have written, we cannot help expressing our regret to find so large a portion of our space occupied with exceptions and fault-findings, where there is so much, nevertheless, to commend and to admire. We regret it the more, because, while we have thus felt ourselves necessitated to dissent from Mr. Macaulay in details, we cordially agree with him in almost all his general views of the history of the period. On all the great constitutional questions which it involves; on all the fundamental principles of law and right; on the merits of most of the prominent actors in the events of the time, (bating always the tone of rhetorical exaggeration which he uniformly indulges;) on the general policy of James's measures, and on the leading features of his character and conduct while king, Mr. Macaulay has, ordinarily speaking, our full and hearty concurrence. Nor is there, we may add, any part of his work in which he carries our judgment with him more strongly, though, perhaps, upon different grounds from those which he has taken, than in his able and vigorous detail of James's reckless and ill-considered aggressions upon the Church of England. These measures, and the spirit in which they were carried out, were warmly reprobated by the wisest and best of James's own Catholic subjects. They met the unequivocal condemnation of the Nuncio, of the courts of Spain and Austria, of the Elector Palatine; above all, of the Pope himself. Nevertheless, James's policy was not so unredeemed by good or honourable motives, as Mr. Macaulay has represented it. There was much in the circumstances of the time, and in James's actual position, which might have modified the unmitigated rigour of Mr. Macaulay's judgment; and there were many good, though

* Döllinger's *Reformation; ihre innere Entwicklung*, ii. pp. 26, 293, 551, 554, &c.

not attractive traits in James's character, which might have softened the excessive harshness of his portrait. So, also, of James's followers: it is true that there were venal and insincere men among his proselytes, and corrupt and unprincipled men among his partisans, who, from base and interested motives, threw themselves into the policy which his ill-advised zeal and obstinacy suggested, and abandoned it with equal baseness when it ceased to be profitable; but among the converts to James, and the followers of his fortunes, there were also men whose disinterestedness, integrity, and constancy would do honour to any cause; and, with the exception of the infamous Sunderland, even the worst of them were hardly so completely beyond the pale of honour and virtue as Mr. Macaulay's unsparing pencil has depicted them. Unhappily, the fervour of Mr. Macaulay's imagination, and the habitual strength and earnestness of his views, have prevented his making due allowance for these redeeming circumstances; and before the history of James II. and his time shall be complete, it must be re-touched by some fearless and impartial writer,—fearless enough to disregard the prestige of modern notions and modern prejudices, and to throw himself into the spirit of the time which he has to describe; impartial enough to judge men and to estimate motives, not by the standard of modern ideas, but by the actual circumstances of the times in which they lived, and the received opinions and views under whose impulse they may be fairly considered to have acted. Would that we might hope to see our own venerable and illustrious historian, in his honourable old age, resume his pen, after his long retirement; pursue Mr. Macaulay through all the details (and especially the personal ones) of his history, and render full justice to the men, the measures, and the principles which Mr. Macaulay, from his views and habits of thought, is incapable either of understanding or appreciating! The materials are still far from being exhausted. Notwithstanding the large accession which we owe to Sir James Mackintosh, and in part to Mr. Macaulay, there is still much to be explored; and most of the new materials would tend to illustrate that view of the subject to which justice has not yet been rendered. Not to speak of minor fragments, the great inedited Vatican Collection formed by the learned Oratorian, Father Theiner, comprises, besides the whole of the Nuncio's correspondence, a larger mass

of materials for the Catholic history of that time, than has ever yet been given to the public.

ART. VII.—1. *Funeral Oration delivered at the solemn Requiem of the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, V. A. of the London District, at St. Mary's Church, Moorfields, London, on Wednesday, the 28th of February, &c.* By the Rev. HENRY WREEDALL, D.D. London, Dolman, 1849.

2. *Speculum Episcopi.* The Mirror of a Bishop. London, Edwards and Hughes, 1848.

IT is a circumstance to us of no small interest, that we became acquainted with these two publications on the same day. We had listened with strong emotion to the funeral chaunt of the Church over the illustrious dead: to that wonderful office, which, instead of mere instruction to the living, gives place among them to the departed, as though the fears, the hopes, the regrets and joys of both were the same. Matchless indeed in its subduing power is that sublime service. The Psalms selected for it seem to have been composed on purpose to express the mingled feelings of one conscious now of a life of imperfection as well as of sorrow, yet sustained by unfailing confidence in the power of Him who has drawn the sting of death. Let any one cast his eye but over the antiphons of Matins for the Dead—they are the key-notes of their psalms—and he will see how gently alternating between humility and trustfulness, sorrow and consolation, is the strain in which the Church makes her children, gathered round the bier, anticipate the feelings of their last hour, and plead for him whose lips may no more entreat for himself. Intermingled, too, as they are with those deeply thoughtful, mournful, humbling, yet most tender lessons from Job, there is a force in them to milder the roughest mind, and to smooth the harshest mood of thought. But when all is not merely recited, but sung by many well-trained voices, as we then heard it, in the Church's own unrivalled song; it seems as if all these feelings were blended together, not in the dark and chilly grave, not even in the living thoughts of men, but in that higher sphere through which the psalmody

lightly floats; as though the three Estates of Christ's Church met in the holy place to sing together the triumph of their King over the grave. *In paradisum deducant te Angeli,** boldly sing we, not as to them that hear not, of those that see not; but as though, speaking still to the brother in the midst of us, whose cold remains we are bearing to the tomb, we committed him to those angels' care of whose presence we are strongly conscious. And as at length the Lauds, beginning with the awful *Miserere*, rise, psalm by psalm, in assurance and cheerful hope, it seems as if the current of more genial feeling swelled, the hymn of victory broke through the reserve of individual sorrow, and burst forth in that exulting psalm, the *Laudate*, which, after calling upon all nature to praise God, by every manner of tuneful sound, closes in the grand burst of mutual recognition of all engaged in harmonious song, the spirits of the just in expiation, the souls of the living Faithful, and the host of triumphant Saints and Angels—*Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum.*

And yet all this entrancing service was but the preliminary and preparatory portion of the solemn obsequies. For Another, more powerful than men and angels, He whom they had jointly invoked, and as if by their powerful cry, summoned to the rescue of the soul by Him redeemed, now claimed the homage of every thought and every heart, as from the altar ascended the sweet odour of His expiating Sacrifice. Now indeed was fear dispelled, and consolation fully ministered, in the humble hope, that from a soul habitually innocent and most virtuous, had been washed away each lesser stain, and removed every obstacle to full fruition of its desired reward. We could at length afford attention to the words of man, and listen indulgently to the record of human virtues, where all that was earthly had till now seemed so worthless and so vain. Most considerately and most wisely does the Church place the funeral oration at the close of her religious service.

It was now that we became acquainted with the first of our two publications. The *Requiem* service which we have described was that of a Bishop, the late revered Bishop Walsh: and his funeral eulogy was pronounced by one who had long known him, and had been an affectionate witness of his many virtues.

* "May the Angels bear thee into Paradise."

A few hours later on the same day, the second publication was brought under our notice, and before we had time to peruse it, its title caught our attention, and from the very language in which it was written, took us back forcibly to the scenes of the morning. *Speculum Episcopi!* The Latin title seemed naturally to refer to a Latin bishop. All that we had seen and all that we had heard told us, that the prelate whose obsequies we had attended, would bear the scrutiny of character and conduct, which such a title, applied to him, would warrant. The true, faithful narrative of what he had been, and what he had accomplished, had represented to our minds the life and deeds of a man worthy of his ministry, of his dignity, and of the honours paid him, one whom the Catholic bishop in any part of the world would not be sorry to have resembled in life and in death. These were "a mirror" in which none might disdain to glass himself.

But the still closed volume before us contains the mirror, or true representation of the bishop, as he is in another church: and before opening it, we may muse for a few moments on a natural contrast between the closings of earth's dealings with the two holders of the same title. That morning we had seen every mitred brother of the deceased, not prevented by serious illness, arrive from afar, to join in the solemn service. And though his residence in London had not been long, and his infirmities had not allowed it to be active, the nave of the large church was well-nigh filled with clergy, and the rest with laity, anxious to bear witness to the virtues of the departed. And what we have witnessed, has occurred at every funeral, in late years, of a Catholic bishop. But we have ever looked in vain for any similar seal set upon the ministry of a bishop of the Anglican church; there is no gathering of its hierarchy in religious offices, over the bier of even its highest dignitary; no swarming of the clergy around his remains, to bear them in sorrow to the episcopal sepulchre. His funeral belongs not to the church, or the bench, or the profession to which he appertained: his communion with all these is sundered for ever. His body belongs to his family: Mrs. — and his sons and daughters have it borne to the family vault; waving plumes, and scutcheons, mourning coaches and friends' private carriages accompany the mournful procession; which no cross heads, no religious symbol hallows, no thought of expiation consoles.

Now, strange as it may seem, the difference between the two episcopacies is fully shown forth in this contrast. The Catholic bishop belongs to the Church living and dead, body, heart, soul, and being. He is not the holder of an office in it; he is a part of it. His See is his spouse, the poor are his children, the faith his charter, religion his exclusive business: he has no other *status* in this country at least; out of his episcopal duty and office he is no one, and nobody troubles himself about his politics, or his fortune, or his former occupation. The character imprinted on him at ordination and consecration is indelible; his very ashes belong to the Church, and his family and friends would almost deem it profanation to have it separated from his cathedral or the tombs of his predecessors, to mingle with the ancestors of his house. Not so, if the *Speculum Episcopi* is right, is the Anglican bishop considered by his own. He is merely the occupier of an important office in his church, but nobody deems him for a moment the voice, the organ, the impersonation of the church: not the high-churchman, not the evangelical. He is a great state-officer, a peer of the realm, an important person out of his episcopacy. His party in politics, his previous services, as a canvasser, a lecturer, a nobleman's tutor, a Greek editor, are matters of public notoriety and general discussion: and when a vacancy in the bench occurs, these are all items to be taken into account, to form the sum of probabilities *pro* or *con* an individual. But besides these public secular duties, he has many more, social and domestic. He is "divided," as St. Paul so well expresses it:* he has to study how to please some one on earth as well as One in heaven. He has family interests to take care of; children to educate, not merely in the fear of God, but a little somewhat in that love of the world, too, which is indispensable, where there are no vocations or opportunities for conventual life; there are treasures to be laid up, not only "where rust and moth consume not, nor thieves break through and steal," but also where securities are good, and interest fair, to be the comfort of survivors under the form of jointures and marriage-portions. And all this requires much worldly state, good appearance, and management, of a nature purely secular. So when death comes, his surviving brethren,

* 1 Cor. vii.

and his sons, the clergy of the Diocese, having had little more than an official relation with him, and this having *ceased, surrender him to the gentle care of more domestic hands*; we hear nothing of the Viaticum administered, or the Church's last maternal duties exercised in his behalf, but we read of afflicted relatives round the death-bed, and family honours at the tomb.

More importance is to be attached to this contrast than may at first sight appear: for the author of our second mirror has forgotten, perhaps unconsciously, perhaps from fear of a recoil, the considerations which hinge upon it. And, if without going so far as the closing scenes of episcopal life, (more awful in proportion to the responsibility just going to be accounted for,) we seek a contrast at an earlier stage of the ecclesiastical career, we shall find it much stronger. For let us suppose the "vocation" to the ecclesiastical state in each to be a *calling from on high*, in a literal sense. Imagine it made *viva voce*, as to saints of old, instead of through the meditations in a spiritual retreat, the solemn judgment of a director to whom the whole of one's breast and heart have been laid open undisguised, and the long training of an ecclesiastical education, in rigorous seclusion from temptation, through which, in conjunction with providential combinations of events, vocation comes to the Catholic youth: instead of, on the other hand, through those inspirations which an undergraduate's life in an English university must be supposed to suggest. To the Catholic indeed such a call might pretty generally be addressed in words sufficiently familiar to all: "Go forth from thy kindred and from thy father's house." They were Abraham's call, and they are those of every Catholic priest. They may seem to him spoken by a *pensive angel in alb and stole, bending over a crown of thorns*. The society of parents must be pretty nigh resigned during the long course of preparatory studies; home, in its ordinary sense, of a social circle, composed of some about to slip away from it for ever, and of a new generation springing at their feet—home is lost to him for ever; he is a solitary pilgrim in this world, no longer his own, in all that concerns the domestic life and its clinging affections: and wo to him, if he gather not around him the vast family of Christ's poor, and if he have not his eyes directed towards another and a better city. But to the candidate for the ministry of the Establishment, the voice

from above, if thence it comes, will speak in other accents. It breaks through rosy clouds, and from amidst visions of smiling little cherubs; it whispers softly, not to "go forth," but to "enter in," to settle down in life, and take a respectable station in society; it reminds of the neat parsonage, the trim garden, the Sunday walk to the old ivy-clad church, the cheerful social evening, the prattling little ones; "the pleasant neighbourhood," the "light duty," and all those ecclesiastical allurements, which in the Record or the Churchman, are savoury condiments to advertisements of sales of advowsons. Whether it be likely that such considerations have ever embodied themselves in a celestial voice, we must leave to Heads of Houses to decide; provided they will tell us what a voice from earth would be likely to speak on the same subject.

Again we repeat, that we have made this contrast, because we looked in vain in the *Speculum* for information on these domestic duties. For in the mean time, we must be supposed to have looked into this interesting volume; and we proceed to unfold from it some of the characteristics of the Anglican episcopate. We wish we could find space for two preliminary extracts descriptive of the opinions formed of an Anglican bishop by two different characters, the London artisan, and the country bumpkin. But we must content ourselves with the first. It is a dissenter who speaks.

"Then just consider 'THE BISHOPS;' men who owe their advancement to accidental circumstances either of birth, connection, or opportunity; who have nothing to do but to consume a large income, to live in a palace, to sit in the House of Peers, and to snub poor curates with large families, vainly seeking to be fed with the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. Who ever heard of a true successor of the apostles 'clothed in purple and fine linen,' lolling in a carriage drawn by two fat greys, driven by a burley coachman, and attended by two or three footmen six feet high, each with a gold-headed cane in his hand? Who ever hears of a Bishop praying and preaching, and visiting the sick, the poor, and the needy—the widow and the orphan in their distress? Can the Church be a verity when her chief pastors are thus immersed in worldly grandeur, and bedizened with the trappings of vanity?"

"We all know the folly and absurdity of such mis-statements; but the Spitalfields weaver—up three pair of stairs, in a back room, with a wife and three children, a jay, a rabbit, a lean cat, and an anti-church-and-state tract in his hand, which he is reading while the red-herring is being toasted as an accompaniment to

his sugarless tea and butterless bread—does not. He knows what an income varying from £5,000 to £20,000 per annum is. With his own eyes, from the penny-steamboat, he has scanned, at his ease, the massive baronial residence of successive Archbishops of Canterbury, where heavy towers and battlements rise from the mass of dingy brick-work by which they are surrounded, and seem to keep all humbler dwellings at a frowning distance. His own mind immediately frames a sort of logical rule of three: 'as is Lambeth Palace to No. 3, Fashion-street, Spitalfields, up three-pair-of-stairs back, so is the Archbishop of Canterbury to me, William Thrummy.' Or, when in a fit of idleness or profuse expenditure of time, he may have walked as far as Hyde-park to see the Queen open Parliament, or the Russian Emperor, the Pole destroyer, at a review, and should happen on his return home to wander through St. James's Square, he could give a fair guess at the extent of London and Winchester houses simply from counting the windows; and if by some fortunate opening of the doors his eyes should be blessed with a vision of the sleek and self-satisfied porter, rolled up in his leathern box, half asleep, half awake, how his imagination would ascend, step by step, from the porter through every gradation of a retinue of servants, until he had peopled the suites of rooms with multitudinous attendants bearing silver dishes and goblets crowned with wine, chandeliers bristling with wax candles, and lords and ladies honouring Episcopal hospitality. And, then, as the dream melted away before the reality of the stony streets and dray traffic, his thoughts would revert to the well-thumbed 'anti-church-and-state tract'—to a reverie upon Paul the tent-maker, Peter the fisherman, his own red herring, the unbaptized children, the jay, the rabbit, the sugarless tea, the unbuttered bread, and the enormous abuse of a Church Establishment, with Archbishops living in baronial halls—grand, gloomy, and authoritative as themselves—and with Bishops at a perpetual feast, of which the broken bits suffice to make one of the lowest menials sleek, portly, on easy terms with himself and all the world besides. William Thrummy's moody return into Fashion-street, and his dogged step up those dark greasy stairs, speak of one who hates the State Church, and believes the Bishops to be anti-christs."—pp. 8—11.

After a variety of interesting sketches of the bishop's character and duties, as imagined not only by the people, but by men of education, as Sir James Graham, the author proceeds to classify the bishops, as the Anglican church now possesses them, and that in a most graphic manner. First we have "the Drawing-room bishop, amiable, polite, and moderately learned, aristocratic in demeanour, refined in manners, blameless in morals." (p. 43.)

The second is "the University bishop," who is described at length under several varieties, of which we will introduce one.

"Besides these general reasons, which guide the mind of the Minister in his selection, there are others more or less operative at certain junctures and seasons, such as:—The compilation of a ponderous lexicon; the elucidation of the Greek drama; a general reputation for heavy scholarship; discretion, moderation, and tact in the management of University affairs; or, last of all, theological acumen, and a character for pretensions to be considered a sound divine. It is very remarkable the last-mentioned desideratum should have the least weight. Morals, respectability, and talent are, of course, indispensable, when the block is to be quarried out of the University; but divinity is excluded in the investigation of merits—as though a sculptor should select a marble mass for a Hercules, without thinking whether there would be sufficient for the club also; or for a Laocoon, and care nothing for the omission of the serpents. A well-authenticated anecdote is current concerning a fellow of a college, distinguished for his wide range of learning in all subjects except divinity, who was surprised by the offer of a Bishopric from his friend the Premier. Unwilling to decline the honour, and yet aware of his deficiency where he ought to have been found the strongest, he is said to have gone to his bookseller, full of embarrassment, and to have addressed him thus:—'They have made me a Bishop; I know nothing of theology; I must read. I am going down into the country; send me a selection of the best-reputed works upon theology, by divines of the Anglican Church.'"—pp. 54—5.

Finally, the last is "the Schoolmaster bishop."

The writer then goes through the duties of a bishop, commencing with charitable "hospitality." The following passage, which contrasts the conduct of one of the best bishops of the Establishment, with that of a modern bishop, will best describe the writer's mode of viewing the discharge of this duty.

"Bishop BEDELL (Kilmore and Ardagh, 1630) 'had his table well covered according to the plenty that was in the county; but there was no luxury in it. Great resort was made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in house-keeping. Many poor Irish families were maintained out of his kitchen; and in the Christmas time he had the poor always eating with him at his own table; and he brought himself to endure both the sight of their rags and their rudeness.'

"This style of living would not suit the 'Drawing-room Prelate,' nor the 'University man,' nor the 'Schoolmaster Bishop.' They could not understand its obligation, nor perceive its efficacy; nor,

it may be added, without BEDELL's spirit, could they have performed the gigantic task of resuscitating a lifeless body of clergy, and regenerating a laity sunk in desperate ignorance and moral heathenism. Here, too, was the proof that he was not mistaken in his apprehension of a Bishop's conduct; for when the Rebellion broke out his house was untouched, 'the rebels swore he should be the last Englishman driven from Ireland;' and, indeed, he was the only Englishman in the County Cavan who was left undisturbed in his possessions; his house, his out-buildings, his Church, and *Churchyard were guarded by the sanctity and reputation of the man, and offered a safe asylum for those unfortunate people whom the flames had banished from their homes, and whom the sword of the avenger was pursuing for blood.*

"The nearest approach to the Christmas hospitality practised by Bishop BEDELL, in palaces of modern date, would be of a festive description, in the raftered kitchen, hung about with evergreens, laurels, and mistletoe. Thither the grooms and helps, the gardeners and hangers on, a few friends of the domestic servants, and a fiddler blind, with a clarionet-boy, raked out of the city lanes, resort, upon invitation—because it is an annual custom—to a supper furnished with roast beef, plum-pudding, strong ale, and a closing bowl of punch. My Lord is told he must dine at five, because the annual solemnity is being celebrated below stairs that evening; and bearing this in memory, as tea is announced in the drawing-room, he glides quietly into the kitchen, looks on and smiles, bids the interrupted dance proceed, and wishing his guests a merry Christmas and a happy New Year, departs for another twelve months from the eyes of the astonished scullion. As the door closes behind him, the health of 'the good Bishop' is proposed by the butler, responded to by the men in loud cheers, and welcomed by the maids with a flourish of handkerchiefs; the rude uproar follows the Bishop as he ascends the walnut staircase; and echoing along the silent corridors, finds an answer and a soft whisper of approval in his heart—'Given to hospitality.'"—pp. 105—6.

The want of free personal intercourse between the bishop and his clergy is vigorously and amusingly described; and as, no doubt, few of our readers, any more than ourselves, have had opportunities of getting behind the scenes, and witnessing the manner of conducting ecclesiastical business in the English church, we will make room for rather a long extract on the subject.

"There is a marked difference in the behaviour of a Bishop to an Incumbent and a Curate. The fact that there should be no distinction among presbyters is shelved; and the value of a living, or its influential position, or the connection of its Incumbent with the noble patron, will suggest a variety of motives and shades of

condescension in Episcopal intercourse. We have seen in one Diocese rather a curious method adopted by the Bishop to mark his appreciation of the superiority of an Incumbent over a Curate ; but to make it intelligible will require a description. First of all, be it assumed as a fact, however incredible to the Superintendent of a Wesleyan circuit, that it frequently happens, in a large Diocese, the Bishop not only forgets the person and character, but even the name and existence, of his licensed Curates.

"How can it be otherwise under the following circumstances ? On a certain day of the week a large room in the palace is filled with clergy and churchwardens, with deputation^s of the laity and clergy upon matters of business with the Bishop. It is the open day, upon which his Lordship dedicates his time from eleven till four to the general affairs of his diocese, and receives individuals or parties in succession, according to the order of their arrival. A gentleman sits at a table in the centre of the room, busied with official documents—stamping, sealing, and arranging ; every now and then he receives a mysterious communication from some one of the assembly ; then he disappears, returns again, whispers, dives into his chair, and is up to his chin in parchment ; then the door opens, and Mr. —'s name is called ; the mysterious whisperer obeys the summons, and is seen no more ; meanwhile plans of school-rooms are inspected and handed about ; a choleric Churchwarden pours a long and grievous story about the surplice and Church-militant into the ears of a most placid and mild gentleman, who has come to offer the site for a Church in a populous, destitute locality—a young gentleman in a pea-green coat, with a silver-knobbed whip in his hand, and who seems, from his spurs and besplashed trousers, to have ridden some distance to fix the day for the consecration of a Church—begins to manifest impatience, and has frequent recourse to the gentleman in the centre of the room, who bobs up and down as though he were doomed to be a perpetual hunter after wafers and red tape.

"About the fireplace a knot of clergy is seen standing, or lounging, in every description of attitude and costume ; the high Churchman, with the cut collar, long flapping coat, and waistcoat double-breasted, cassock like—the low Churchman, with a large display of clean shirt and collar, gaitered, and shaven with wonderful closeness ; some of these are musing upon the subject of their projected interviews, some are gazing upon the fire and vacancy ; one is measuring the proportions of the room, and calculating the quantity of silk stuff required for the folds of those enormous curtains ; another has evidently found out this is his lordship's dining-room, and eyes the capacious sideboard with much respect, detecting an ice-pail underneath it, and then gives himself up to visions of four courses and iced champagne.

"In the mean time the room is becoming thinner, and the little gentleman has been more active than ever in catching stray wafers,

attaching different papers, and rushing in and out of the room ; at last, after one of these hurried exits and entrances, he suddenly cries out with a loud voice—"Are there any gentlemen here by appointment to be licensed ?" Three or four curates start from their places and surround him ; a conversation takes place about nominations and letters of orders ; eventually they follow their guide, and are ushered into a small room, adorned with a single portrait, and furnished with a single table, at which sits the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. The Curates stand before him in a row ; he merely glances at them with a keen and rapid eye, and proceeds with the institution of an Incumbent. The Incumbent and the Curates repeat the oaths together ; the Bishop all the time reads and signs papers. When the oaths are taken, the Incumbent kneels, places his hands within his Lordship's, and is verbally instituted by the Bishop into his living ; he rises, and the little man, gathering together the papers which have been signed, whispers that his Lordship will not detain them any longer ; but as they prepare to retire, the Bishop advances a step, shakes the Incumbent formally by the hand, and recognises the Curate's humble obeisance with the slightest inclination of an expansive brow and intellectual head."—pp. 141—4.

We pass over many interesting passages, to come to the subject of ordination. The author places as a mirror before the bishop the interrogatories respecting his duties, answered by him when he himself received episcopal designation. Among them was this: "Wilt thou be faithful in ordaining, &c." It seems there is a rubric, little observed, that all ordinations should be "in the face of the Church," that is, public. The following is a description of the preparation for an ordination held in London, by some bishop who finds it more convenient to perform the ceremony there than in his own Diocese.

"Twenty or thirty young men come up to London for the purpose, lodge in hotels, are surrounded with all the gaiety and temptations of the metropolis, and, in the midst of this confusion and whirl—dining out with friends, and led away into public resorts and private amusements—they are subjected to a hurried examination, and are called upon to consummate the most solemn act of their lives. Nor is their ordination Canonical ; it may be in a "parish Church where the Bishop resideth," but that is not *the* parish Church contemplated by the Canon in his own Diocese, and in no other man's. He may have 'three sufficient preachers' to assist in the imposition of hands, but a hundred to one they are not of 'the same Diocese,' that is, the same with the Bishop. The office may be celebrated during 'divine service ;' but it is not *'the* divine service' in the eye of the Canon, but an extraordinary ser-

vice, commencing at a quarter to eight in the morning, with the omission of the sermon, in violation of the Rubric, because the whole business must be completed by 10.30 A.M., when the marriages and other parochial preliminaries to the ordinary Sunday service commence. The exhortation 'good people' may be read; but the representatives of a whole Diocese will be a London Beadle, a Sextoness, and the tailor's assistant, who has brought gowns, bands, and hoods, to let out for the occasion upon hire.

"Thus by the breach of the Canon, in the first instance, young men are surrounded with excitement when they ought to be most self-possessed; every preparation for the most serious undertaking in life is slurred over; the season for reflection, for prayer, and fasting, is not to be found in a Covent Garden hotel; the full, efficient, and solemn service of the Church is marred of its beauty, clipped, and maimed; and a scene, which ought to have lived for ever fresh and thrilling in the young Priest's mind; associated with everything that is reverential, awful, and overwhelming; and casting its reflection in the hour of trial and danger, to cheer, to support, or to warn him, as he treads the path of duty—this scene presents to his memory a kaleidoscope of confused images, fragments, and various hues; Greek Testament, Butler, Pearson, with a skeleton sermon, and one of the Fathers, to be turned into Latin, all jumbled together with a dinner at Connaught Terrace, and a fascinating pair of blue eyes in the waltz, Kean in Othello, and a gallop in a cab, to be at the Church in time; all terminating with a sense of the difficulty he had to keep his mind in anything like equilibrium, and a swimming recollection of the terrible pace—in keeping with the cabman's previous exertions—at which the 'Reader' traversed the space allotted in the Service Book for Morning Prayer; and, last of all, he will sit calculating over his fire, as in the little parlour of his lodgings he reads his license, that his stipend is sixty pounds per annum, and his expenses in London, with the fees, were TWENTY and FIVE! The twenty gentlemen who were ordained with him expended amongst them about four hundred pounds; it would have cost the Bishop ten pounds, and four days' residence in the country, to have discharged his duty towards the Church Canonically, towards the people of his Diocese justly, towards the Priesthood Episcopally. No: it is part of his duty, part of his '*profession*;' and, therefore, may be done formally, coldly, and just within the prescribed limit of decency."—pp. 168, 170.

Again, as to the subject already touched on by us, of ecclesiastical vocation, and preparation for orders.

"We believe the large majority of candidates for holy orders consists undoubtedly of earnest young men, who are alive to their responsibility, and who feel they have some offering, poor though

it be, some sacrifice of time, ability, talent, and worldly prospects, to cast down at the foot of their MASTER'S Cross. We know, also, there are some who regard 'taking orders' in much the same light as 'taking a degree'; a necessary step in a profession chosen for them by their friends. These men, therefore, 'cram' themselves with the requisite amount of theology, technical theology, for the examination; disgorge it upon sundry sheets of foolscap, and kneel before the Bishop for the imposition of hands, with much the same feeling as before the Vice-Chancellor for the reception of a degree. No distinction is made by the unreflecting student in the nature of the two things; to his mind both have been earned, by passing a respectable examination, and place the coping-stone upon the education, at which he has been labouring since he was eight years of age, with the indomitable energies of an Irish hodman. Suppose, in addition, the young gentleman to be a 'fast man,' with plenty of money at the University, and a living, like a ripe plum, ready to drop into his mouth; or, what is worse, suppose he has spent the little hoard of money reserved by his parents for his college education, and plunging over head and ears in debt and in dissipation, is driven by sheer necessity into orders, with just sufficient wit glimmering through the fumes of a brain, distempered by riotous living, to light him through his degree and his Bishop's examination.

"These are the men who do the Church an amount of injury incalculable; one mad dog on a single night will worry more sheep in the fold than all the faithful collies have saved out of snow-drifts and morasses for a whole winter; against such men the Bishops have to guard, and the mere 'letter,' the formal duty prescribed by custom, is not a sufficient protection; in the presence of the Bishop and his Chaplain they will be decorous, well-behaved, and gentlemanly; follow them to their inn, and the old College leaven breaks out; a luxurious dinner, and much wine, brandy-and-water, and heaps of cigars, the recitations of College debauches, and prophecies upon future boat-races and 'Darbies'; this forms the staple of preparation among such men, in place of the Church's 'prayer and fasting' for the solemn and awful rite to be performed in the Cathedral on the morrow. Some of these men, even, the events of a parochial life, the service of the sanctuary, and the death-bed, may reach in their conscience, give a turn to their moral system, and leave them devoted servants of God's altar; such is His mercy, long-suffering, and goodness! But of the rest, few are brands 'plucked from the burning'; rather, always, from first to last smouldering, and filling the sanctuary of their Lord, and defiling the beauty of holiness, with the mephitic vapour of evil lives and conversations."— pp. 173—5.

We will conclude this subject by one more long extract, which however will, no doubt, interest our readers.

"Some five-and-twenty miles from the Cathedral City of —, stands the Bishop's palace—a building, in all its features, still bringing to remembrance its Norman origin, in the depth and massiveness of its towers, walls, and windows; although the hand of successive generations has been busy with its front and gables, its recesses and chimneys. Placed upon a swelling eminence, it looks abroad upon a park, studded with giant trees of remote date, whose forked heads and hollowed trunks, together with long and fantastic arms, bared at the end and twisted, give truthful evidence that they saw the day when the Bishop trod upon the neck of Princes; and have survived, until Princes tread with impunity upon the neck of Bishops. These old sappy patriarchs, also, could tell the tale how they escaped the spoliation of Henry, and the axe of the Parliamentarian Commissioner; they might have heard from kindred acorns the tale of Rome's usurpation over the ancient British Church; they themselves witnessed the restoration of its independence. Lines of Bishops have fallen and risen in succession, just as their leaves in autumn and spring; many virtues and many vices, much piety, much worldly ambition, have passed under their shadow; and they still are there, at this day, the admiration of a knot of young gentlemen, "decently habited" in black clothes and white ties, who are standing within the embrasure of a Tudor window, expecting his Lordship and the summons to dinner.

"It is the Saturday evening; the ordination is the next day. The small town, with its picturesque Church, lies embosomed in a hollow, partly planted out, and partly obtruding itself upon the Episcopal mansion; while the broad battlemented tower of the Church *will* be seen, as though it had a right to frown its medieval frown upon the lawn sleeves and simple College cap of an Anglican Bishop; more especially upon the one then in residence, for the contempt with which on all high occasions he has treated its ancient fane, where mitred and croziered Prelates have officiated at the altar, in the presence of a crowned monarch and plumed barons, amidst the waving of banners, the swiinging of silver censers, and the long procession of chanting choristers.

"Such thoughts, perhaps, might be circulating in the bosom of that youth, who is looking so stedfastly upon the hues of the descending sun, as they gild the fane, and clothe the grey stone with a robe of gold and purple; he is one who believes himself to be a loving son of his mother Church, and yet mourns over her discipline flouted, the negligence and coldness of her rulers, the cramped and naked presentation of her services. He is come to be ordained Priest, and with a heart swelling with emotion, and in himself resolute to devote all his energies to the cause of the Church, and through her to the highest and the most noble employment in which human powers can be engaged, he awaits the hour for the solemn imposition of hands, with a thrill of holy fervour and subdued excitement. The medieval cast of his mind harmo-

nizes with the Palace and the Church ; he feels the Church's impress upon him, the Church of all times, his own 'ideal Church.'

"The Prelate in whose Diocese he has succeeded in obtaining his title, would have made an excellent Independent minister, if he had not attained the Episcopate by a succession of extraordinary incidents, social and political. His leanings are towards 'the simplicity of the Gospel,' and the developments of 'spiritual feeling,' and 'experiences;' he upholds the Church of England as the purest and the safest of the Reformed Churches ; he thinks her ritual adapted to 'converted characters,' and would have no objection to sponge out some awkward expressions about 'regeneration in baptism,' and the real presence in the holy communion ; as for the rubrics and canons, he esteems them as little worth, to be used or neglected at will—land-marks which must be kept in view, rather than buoys to direct the ship's course with certainty and precision ; he takes every opportunity of paring down the decent and unpretending ceremonies of the Church ; he confines the chant and anthem within the walls of his Cathedral, and, like Æolus with his winds, will only give them occasional license to break forth from their prison-house ; he commends many sermons, with long extempore prayers before and after ; but would shudder at the idea of 'Daily Service,' because the Church of Rome has a daily sacrifice of the Mass.

"The young gentleman from Oxford is certainly unfortunate in his Bishop, the examination, and the ordination. The Bishop looks at him suspiciously, and puts a few leading questions to elicit his views upon Churches, orders, and sacraments ; and in his charge on the Saturday afternoon warns his hearers to guard themselves and their flocks from the insidious attacks of Tractarians. At the dinner a colonial Prelate is present, who has come down on a visit, and for the purpose of preaching to the candidates. It should have been remarked, each day has been distinguished by its mutilation of the Liturgy in the Evening Service, and by its sermon of dimensions exceeding in length the maimed service by at least five degrees. The disciple of Littlemoor has been sorely grieved in spirit, more by the defections in the desk than the vapid divinity in the pulpit, but his trials have only commenced ; he listens to the earnest conversation of the two kindred Prelates ; he hears them eulogising the 'spirituality' of Watts's hymns, and the saintly unction of non-conforming Baxter ; still, as name suggests name, and idea suggests idea, the golden chain of model-writers is extended, and Matthew Henry, Owen, Fleetwood, and a galaxy of Puritan divines, start into existence, one after the other, to be praised in alternate strains by either Prelate :—

'Et cantare pares et respondere parati,'

until coffee is announced, and interrupts the Bishops' pastoral.

"The grim old Norman tower frowns even more gloomily on the

Sunday morning, although the peal of bells rings merrily and swings a Sabbath music over the valleys to the distant wold, where the shepherd listens to its bidding, and wonders why on Sundays the stillness of that solitude should seem more still : or, when broken by the continuous vibrations of those soft bells, why it should seem to partake more of heaven than earth. The parishioners are walking through the avenue of yews into the western porch ; while the Bishop, his two Chaplains, his lady and family, his household, and twenty-three candidates for ordination, are seating themselves in that same private Chapel, which, attached to the palace, has witnessed the daily clippings of the Prayer-book, and echoed the daily homily of five divisions, a lastly, a finally, and to conclude.

"The Chapel is plain in its furniture, with an untidy air in the hassocks, curtains, and Prayer-books. A seraphine stands in a 'convenient' place, no doubt, in this instance, as directed by the 'ordinary,' at which the lady of the Bishop presides, and plays seven verses, with a turn at the end of each, at one sitting. She is very anxious the 'Veni Creator' should be sung, but as she has no tune which exactly coincides with the words, she has made it a personal obligation with the candidates to elide a syllable in each alternate line, so that the melody and the words may accomplish their destination at the same moment of time. After this homely and family fashion the 'Ordination Service' is conducted ; the express provisions of the Church having been dispensed with in the first instance, the remainder of the proceedings is invested with an arbitrary character ; the spirit of the Church yields to the savour of the Conventicle, and the unhappy Oxonian goes home to his flock, with a thorn rankling in his bosom ; with distrust of a Church, which, professing great things, devout and holy, is betrayed with impunity by one of her Bishops ; the wound gangrenes in time ; he begins to see all things in her discipline, doctrine, and practice, with a jaundiced and distempered eye ; he fancies her Erastian, and doubts whether God is to be found 'within her walls and palaces ;' he leaves home, crosses the sea to Belgium, and announces in a few weeks to his Rector the cheerful intelligence that he has been reconciled to 'the Catholic Church,' and is on his way to receive the Pope's blessing."—pp. 179—185.

Although the copious extracts which we have given will have sufficed to show our readers the character of this work, they by no means give an adequate notion of the character which it attributes to the Anglican episcopate. It must be borne in mind that it is not drawn up by an enemy ; but on the contrary it is the composition of a clergyman of active habits in one of the poorest districts of London, a warm Protestant, and certainly without any Catholic tendencies, but on the contrary abundantly im-

pregnated with dislike of "Popery" and "Romanism," the terms which he usually condescends to employ in our regard. He is careful, too, to select his examples of model-bishops from the Establishment, not excluding Scotland. The testimony of such a man, especially when he energetically and feelingly deplores the total want of sympathy between the bishops of his communion and not only their flocks, but their working clergy, is valuable: for he must have experienced what he describes, and he has no disposition to hunt down his own church.

But when he comes to give the causes of the nuisances which are undermining it, or rather the sores that are eating into it, a blindness, that looks almost judicial, seems to be upon him. The designation of his establishment is best described by a compound word; he himself calls it a State-church. But all the blame that attaches to it he will not fairly divide between the two syllables—the Church is immaculate, the State all in fault. It is oppression on one side; and apparently weak endurance on the other. He supposes all to be dissatisfied with the present system, the people and the clergy; and yet there is not power to throw it off. It appears to be the interest of the State to make use of bishops as a political engine, and of their dignity as a fruitful source of state-patronage; and therefore men are chosen for that office who have no previous qualification save profane learning or political activity, and who have no inclination and no power to rise against the system which has raised them. If this be so, it is certainly a terrible grievance. But we cannot help asking, is it the State which regulates the education of candidates for the ministry? Is it Lord John Russell that puts into the university that principle so much, and so justly, denounced by the author, of looking to the ecclesiastical state as a *profession*, selected by preference, because there is a living in the family, or a gift ready from a patron, or interest in some right quarter? Is it the prime minister who has given its tutors and heads of houses to each university, and laid down the rules of discipline now followed, and breathed thereinto the amount of ecclesiastical spirit there encouraged or even taught? If the whole body of the clergy be brought up to so low a standard, who is to blame if the bishops do not suddenly rise above it? Almost every bishop, before he is dignified by the state, has been exalted in the church, has climbed to one of the high pin-

nacles of his college, and perhaps has thence leapt into a living in its gift, so softly inviting as to tempt those who have climbed, after him, and want to take *their* leap, to say in their hearts, *promoveatur ut amoveatur*. It is likely that any state choice will fall on men high and eminent in the church, and it rests with the church herself to make them so. How had the bishop elect reached the height described, how had he become notable in College? In nine cases out of ten by his mathematical or classical pursuits. The university attaches no importance to theological qualifications, or to high moral attainments. We, who are uninitiated in university mysteries, must judge so. When we hear of a new appointment to ecclesiastical dignity, and enquire about the character of the elect, the answer which we generally get is something to this effect. "He is a very distinguished man: he was senior wrangler," or "he was third in the same year as — and —," or "he took double honours, &c." And all this, we believe, means that he was clever at Aristophanes and Euclid, not deep in St. Augustine or St. Thomas. Again, degrees which are given for classical acquirements are obtained by strict examination, theological honours come as matters of course, if you only leave your name long enough on the boards, and duly pay fees. The Church then is to blame, if its education leaves little choice to the state, on the score of ecclesiastical spirit, or theological learning. If *it* passes over the more meek hard-working clergyman, and promotes to its own high places the scholar and the man of the world, can it expect the statesman to reverse the rule, and, having to look for the peer, as well as the bishop, dive into the rural shade, and drag forth, from the humble village parsonage, one "passing rich with forty pounds a-year," into the glare and gas-light of parliamentary life, because he had been quietly catechising his poor children, and had made himself favourably known only by a volume of "Village Sermons," commended in a short notice in the "Guardian?" The wish is unreasonable.

We find at the Bar, that although politics may somewhat influence a choice for the other "bench," yet there is a sufficient amount of professional vigour and good sense, to oblige the selection to be made with some due reference to legal learning and reputation. A man's standing at the bar cannot be overlooked; the leader of a

circuit, or in a particular court, has an admitted claim, and it is well known that to such an eminence men cannot have risen, by editing a Greek play, or having been a nobleman's tutor. Does not the clergy know its duties as well as counsel learned in the law, and have they not energy to perform them? If they heartily joined in the cause of clerical reform, made their voices heard, and pressed upon their bishops and dignitaries with zeal and fervour worthy of the cause, and educated a body of clergy accurately trained to purely ecclesiastical living and views, it would be easy for them to effect the change desired by the author of the *Speculum*.

But this supposes the existence, in a mere human establishment, of power to do a work of grace and of God effectually. It has been the fate of all schismatical and heretical communions, to be at first supported by the very energy of the convulsion which tore them from the mother church, to be sustained for a time by that unnatural courage which was requisite for them to plunge into an abyss till that moment contemplated with dread and horror; there remains in them too some of the sap of the trunk, (for lopped branches do not die outright,) which vegetates for a while, as we lately heard beautifully observed. But this first period over, they gradually subside into a quiet contented state, and the clergy become a part of the social body with little to distinguish them from others. And this shows itself principally in the inefficiency of their theological pursuits, or rather in the absence of them. The Russian and Greek churches, so much now cried up, have not produced, in centuries, a single divine of note, nor have the schismatical Armenians, nor the Syrian Jacobites; nor did the Arians, after the first contest, nor the Donatists, nor the later followers of any ancient heresy, nor the German disciples of Luther or Calvin, after the first rude vigour of the heresiarchs, ever give evidence of any taste for theological pursuits. And so we believe it is with the English Church.

To return, however, to our proper matter: the author of the *Speculum* would probably lay the whole guilt at the door of the Treasury. The State oppresses the Church, and makes unecclesiastical and unepiscopal bishops, and no less bad appointments to Deaneries, Vice-Chancellorships, Presidencies, &c., and the persons so appointed react on education and on the clerical body. But even

this difficulty, the truth of which cannot be entirely denied, only confirms the view which that work has led us to take. There is not a single defect in the Anglican ecclesiastical system, brought out by the author, which is not traceable to one source, totally overlooked by him—the *rejection of celibacy in the clergy*. In one instance alone does he seem to open his eyes to the dangers or evils of a married episcopacy: in regard to the scandal resulting from the bishop's family being identified with him, and the worldlinesses of its female portion being transferred in the public mind to the lawn-sleeves of its chief.

"Thus, when it is whispered that a carriage with a mitre painted on the panels was seen in the string down the long ride at Ascot Heath on the 'Cup day,' having conveyed thither the junior members of his lordship's family, while the good Bishop was innocently taking his turn in the deserted Parks, or fruitlessly attempting to catch the stray and forlorn Secretary of some board from which he is anxious to obtain some necessary information—the rumour finds its way into a Radical print, and Dissenters elevate their hands and eye-brows at the positive fact of a Bishop having been seen at Ascot, on the race-day, '*taking odds against the favourite*.' There is no exaggeration in this supposition, absurd as it may seem; and a few more such like cases are indented upon the Puritan and Bishop-hating section of the people, from year to year in the history of nonconformity, until joining together the petrified fragments (which have for some two centuries lain imbedded in their prejudices), they delineate the portrait of a Bishop to be that of a monster-like ecclesiastical ichthyosaurus, suitable perhaps to the antediluvian ages before the Reformation, but totally unfit for modern times, whether his construction, mechanical powers, or organs of mastication and digestion be considered.

"Again, when the Bishop's lady is so rash as to place her name on the list of patronesses of a ball to be given for the benefit of a county charity, the *Record* takes occasion to publish the names of the young clergy present; and to administer a lecture to the Bishop 'to rule well his own house.' The remonstrance and the rebuke are disseminated far and wide, echoed and re-echoed by 'religious prints,' until the 'religious world' feels a spasm and a qualm, and believes from the bottom of its throbbing heart, that the Bishops of the Church of England care less for a pious body of clergy than for the means afforded them to indulge their families, and to confirm their clergy in indulging in the frivolities of worldly amusements."—pp. 121—23.

But how can it be otherwise? The church and society, so far from discouraging marriage in the clergy, look upon

it as a most salutary state. Young clergymen are frequently exhorted and encouraged to embrace it, as calculated to encrease their usefulness, and to steady them to the work. The married clergy are the very ballast of the vessel of the church: they prevent its rolling over on one side into popery, on the other into dissent, and help to give it that calm sluggish motion over the surface of this life, which makes it look as if quite satisfied to get over each billow that comes, without being in a great hurry to get to port. As the county gazette announces the yearly addition to the little family at — parsonage, the bishop feels that an additional pledge of fidelity has been there deposited with the church, and that the chances of Mr. —'s once feared defection have diminished in an encreased ratio; they are as one to five instead of one to four.

This principle once admitted, the duties of the head of a family and its establishment, become part of the ecclesiastical code; the provision for the children must be procured by the means adopted by every father. And as this matrimonial obligation rises into a higher station of society, its duties rise with it; and the family which once moved quietly and respectably in a tract-dispensing circle of usefulness round the Deanery, must now raise its tastes to the level of the peerage, and learn to spend its time in more dissipating occupations. By a strange anomaly denied all social rank and title, they are not included in those natural restraints which belong to the father of the family, but are left to exercise pretty freely those modes of future advancement in life, which society has rendered necessary. Is it to be expected that a bishop should spend a large portion of his income, as the *Speculum* would wish, in hospitality, that is, in crowding his table with clergy and with poor people, when there is a family round him that holds a just claim upon his superfluities for its future provision, and that, from social position, requires no trifling share of his revenues to spend in making a becoming appearance? And while there is another in the house, who has a rightful voice in domestic arrangements, who does not necessarily "bring herself to endure both the sight of the rags and the rudeness of the poor" eating at the family board, as Bishop Bedell did, is it reasonable to hope for so edifying a system as the bishop dining the poor each day in his own hall? Again, with a growing family entitled to good expectations, would it be even

right, as the author proposes, that the bishop should not only encourage young curates to visit him, but actually domesticate all the youthful candidates for orders in his own house, for some weeks before ordination? (p. 171.) We could not help smiling at the contrast. The Catholic Church strictly enjoins upon every one about to receive holy orders ten days' complete silence and separation, even from the members of the community in which they live, by a spiritual retreat. Although pretty well retired all through the year, and tolerably kept to meditation and prayer, during this time even the little innocent world of the seminary must be shut out, and the entire soul must be absorbed in holy thoughts and undisturbed recollection. And this to the very hour when, with serious countenance and earnest purpose, they enter the church for ordination. Instead of this, the grave author who mourns over the light way in which orders are considered, prepared for, and administered in his Establishment, would propose as their best immediate preparation, a few weeks' residence in the bosom of the bishop's exemplary family, ("a lodging in the bishop's house, a chair at his table,") the "junior members" of which could not be supposed to go into spiritual retreat for some weeks each Ember-tide!

Almost every other grievance enumerated in "the Mirror" is traceable to the same cause, an episcopate which belongs essentially to the world, is tied to it by a thousand links, is compelled to work, by worldly means, for worldly ends, to sacrifice high duties and responsibilities to domestic claims, has a weight of earth clinging to its sacerdotal robes, that effectually prevents all flight into a higher and a purer region. And that region is self-sacrifice. Why are not the evils of the Anglican church curable? Because never was any great good achieved for the Church where there was not the readiness to risk all. From St. Thomas of Canterbury to Mgr. Affre, there has been only one way for churchmen to carry barricades. Whether set up by a tyrant-king or by a tyrant-mob, they are alike: and self-immolation, or the readiness for it, is the only power required. Sydney Smith wrote, in his clerical facetiousness, that the sacrifice of one bishop would be necessary to put a stop to railway collisions; but such a Juggernaut mode of self-offering is not of our time or country. When however, either of those holy men felt that God called him to the office of a good shepherd, and girded

himself to the work, does any one for a moment hesitate to believe, that his task was lighter because his heart was not harassed by divided claims; because he had to think of the flock in the fold alone, and not of the house-lambs at home; because he could take into his mind, at once, the whole of his sacrifice, find it straitened within the narrow compass of self—of that which he had learned to despise and not to love, and could thus freely give to God and his people what would not, in its loss, inflict a pang on others? Yet we find in each case another singular feature, the ready zeal of their clergy to accompany them to danger. While the holy Pontiff of Canterbury, like his divine Master, straitly charged his assassins to spare the lives of his faithful clerks, these did not flinch from being his companions in the trial, and one at least warded off one blow, at his own loss, from the martyr's sacred head. And in like manner, when the holy Archbishop of Paris, in whom intrepidity was not a quality but a grace, undertook, at risk of his life, to be an angel of peace, he found no difficulty in finding companions ready to share his perils. The two first Vicars-general whom he asked willingly followed him on the path of duty, whithersoever it might lead. They too had no considerations, to withhold them, of domestic duties; their father was he who invited them, their children were they to whom they were going—erring children who had to be reclaimed. In both instances it is remarkable that the death-blow struck only the right person. In such a murderous onslaught, and such a reckless defence, as occurred in the cathedral of Canterbury, it is only wonderful that no one but the Archbishop received a deadly blow. At the barricades of Paris, though bullets passed through the hat of M. Jaquetmet, the only fatal shot struck the prelate. It was fitting that in both cases the zeal and charity of the chief pastor should stand forth prominent, and that his glory of martyrdom should not be shared by a companion. It was the duty of the good shepherd to lay down his life for his flock, and it would have appeared an incomplete self-sacrifice, if his sheep had lain slaughtered around him.

Again we are wandering; and we must remind our readers of our intention in what we have written. We repeat, therefore, that if the English establishment is in thralldom to the state, if it be a captive and in fetters, its freedom cannot be achieved without the spirit which ani-

mated these martyrs, the readiness to sacrifice all earthly interests, and to face every loss. But this spirit we have no hesitation in considering as next to impossible without celibacy; whether in Germany, or in Russia, or in Greece, or in England, it is the same: a married clergy is ever at the mercy of the State. The spirit of self-sacrifice is single-minded, and single-hearted; it is clogged with misgivings when the fate of others is involved in its determination. If the great reforms which are needed in Anglicanism require such a spirit, it is a case beyond hope.

But in fact, the grace of martyrdom, literal or figurative, except in one form, has never been granted to schism or heresy. In their early stages there may be sufficient fanaticism to get men to the scaffold or throw them upon the faggot; but when they have settled down into the comfortable condition of a government Church, when principle, and not excitement, has to lead men to martyrdom, the power is spent, and the counterfeit gift is lost. And hence, while the seminaries of France and the convents of Spain have been breeding up martyrs, and sending forth missionaries filled with the assurance and hope of giving their lives for Christ, the English missionary establishments, Anglican or dissenting, have been nurturing ecclesiastical *locators*, and family men, with a grant of so many acres per child to civilize our colonies.

But we have said that there is one form of martyrdom alone reserved for those in error, and even that finds its chief obstacle in the marriage of the clergy. The only martyrdom granted to those out of the Church, is *conversion*. We heard not long ago the answer of one who a few years before was among the most forward in the Oxford movement, who admitted every Catholic doctrine, who was among the loudest to denounce the corruptions of his own church, who abroad sought the company of Catholic ecclesiastics, and attended our worship always most devoutly, and who was strongly expostulated with, by one of his foreign friends, because he did not follow his guides and friends, in their reconciliation with the Catholic Church. At first he made the usual frivolous excuses; but when fairly and openly taxed with cowardice and love of the ease of his position, he as frankly replied to this effect, that he "did not feel in himself the courage to be a *martyr*." He was so far right, that a convert from Anglicanism needs the spirit of martyrdom to nerve him for his trial. If at

all known to the world, he must make up his mind almost to unsay his past life, and make open confession of what the world has abhorred from the days of St. Paul, before a tribunal as fit to hear it as that of Felix—what is called “the British public.” Then he must be prepared to be dragged through the mire (to use an expressive phrase) by the religious papers of every complexion, from the pale, colourless “Churchman” to the fiery-faced “Record.” He must hear himself anathematized by one because he has left the “Church of his baptism;” growled at by the other, for having remained so long in the “Church of his bread.” One set accounts for the marvellous folly of leaving “a position” in the Establishment or the University, by supposing that he is a disappointed man; another mildly whispers that there have been long suspicions in the minds of his more intimate friends, respecting his perfect sanity. “This comes of not thoroughly realizing what is in his own church first,” loudly exclaims one: “this is all the fruit of an over-strained asceticism,” cries out the other. “If he had taken the prayer-book with his Bible”—begins the first; “if he had stuck to his Bible alone”—commences the other, “he would never have embraced popery,” conclude both. And both agree that the man must be beside himself; the one, like Festus, thinks too much (mediæval or patristic) learning has made him so; the other simply, with Herod, throws the white garment over his shoulder, and is satisfied that all should jeer him. Ludicrous as this assault may seem, and often as the blows aimed at the poor victim may strike his opposite assailant, it must not be forgotten that they are directed against one of quiet unobtrusive life, who has stood respected and beloved perhaps by many, who has taken the most serious step of his life after years of thought, of study, and of prayer, who has often, before God, felt his heart writhe in anguish, at the forethought of the sacrifices he was about to make; and, like the Son of Man in the garden, has suffered keenly in anticipation, not of the blows or scoffs of men, unable and unworthy to read their hearts, but the coldness of past friends, and the denial of loved disciples, and the sundering knife that has to sever them from all that till now had been dear to their hearts. To have that which has cost so severely, and which has been the fruit of so much agony, almost hawked about the streets, as a piece of public news, the theme of a cold

sneering paragraph, or placarded on the shutters of the "Church and State Gazette" office under the attractive head of "another pervert"—may not be unaptly compared to the outcries of those men, who in early times were for showing all Christians the delicate attention, of publicly introducing them to the lions of Rome, at the Coliseum.* But when the newspaper reader has imbibed the news with his morning cup, and has bestowed upon it his sneer, or his malediction, there is doubtless a tragedy of woe in the house and in the heart of him towards whom it is misdirected. He has probably immediately, and almost ignominiously, to abandon for ever the residence of years, in College, or in his parish, and with it a position, and perhaps his only income, all gained by a life of studious industry, and prized far more for the many associations of youth and manhood, his loved studies, his best thoughts, his holiest breathings. He goes forth, for the first time, a wanderer upon the face of earth, with scarcely a prospect of future sufficiency, and a dark and vague foreboding of total change in all that has been familiar to him. But this is the least. At the university he leaves behind him for ever many who had cleaved unto him with a disciple's confidence, or a friend's affection, but whom his experience tells him, he will henceforward find cold and reserved. Or he abandons a parish which he had worked up to the height of Puseyite discipline, and in which he was thoroughly beloved. And perhaps there is a severer trial still. There sits at home in venerable old age, a parent perchance, who himself has risen to well-earned eminence by his acquirements and his labours, and whose early prejudices against the Catholic faith, the relics of another generation, have grown grey with his locks upon him; who has been watching, with honest pride, every step of promise in the career of his child, has seen with delight each successive honour shed upon him, has observed his rising reputation, his gradual and sure ascent above the horizon, as a star in the firmament of his church: and at once, by one blow, that parent's fond dream will be swept aside, and all those hopes crushed, and that heart well-nigh broken, and the ready blessing of those lips almost changed into a curse. But he who loves father or mother more than Christ is not worthy of Him. Surely it may almost require a vision of

* *Christianos ad leones.*

angels bearing, not yet the palm and wreath, but the cross and thorny crown, to encourage to such martyrdom as this. Few know or think what conversion is, and what its cost: even Catholics have not prized it half enough, and often have looked coldly on the sufferings it has inflicted. As to protestants, they can no more understand the minds and souls of those who endure them, than did the staring mob of the Forum the motives for which a Laurence or an Agnes let their bodies be tortured.

Any one may easily conceive how great the additional pain must be, when the sacrifice involves the present ease, and future prospects of those naturally dependent on one, perhaps a large family. We will not, by any praise of ours, diminish their merit who, like the early martyrs, have not hesitated to sacrifice even these tenderer feelings, and their apparent duties to the paramount obligation of giving up all for Christ. But we have cause to mourn, when we see men whose writings have given every reason to hope that they were about to be rescued from the delusion of Puseyism, and the perdition of heresy, miserably fall back and subside into their very depths, and have a solution given in almost every instance, that there are family ties to account for it. "Venerunt filii usque ad partum et virtus non est pariendo."* This, more than any other consideration, makes the Catholic see the miseries of a married clergy.

We think therefore that the author of the *Speculum* has overlooked the real root of all the delinquencies or short-comings of his episcopate. With married bishops, who have to push the interests of their families, and who have to allow them all the range of worldly pursuits, there is little hope of any strictness of life that rises above decency, of any discipline enforced that exceeds good order, of any residence or personal assiduity or intercourse with clergy beyond what is official, still less of any thorough self-sacrifice for the good of the church, or any effort for enfranchising, reforming, or exalting it at the risk of personal suffering or loss. And yet these more or less compose the *fasciculus rerum expetendarum*, which that author so much desiderates in his bishops.

* Isai. xxxvii. 3.

We come now to the *Speculum Episcopi* which we consider as placed before us, in Dr. Weedall's publication. We shall not need to detain our readers so long as we have in the first section of our article, because the subject is more familiar to them, and because it may be difficult to say much that one thinks, without running into personal details.

In the late Bishop Walsh, the Catholic episcopate has lost the last link, which united it to the older generation of the clergy, that educated abroad. A few most venerable and virtuous men yet survive, who remember the dismal times of our fathers, and received their education in our noble French, Spanish, and Italian seminaries. Our minds naturally draw a line there, as separating the priesthood into two classes, although the later is only composed of the disciples of the earlier. With the establishment of colleges and religious houses at home there opened to us a new epoch, and there dawned a day of promise, that has not disappointed us. It is natural to imagine that many modifications of practice and of feelings must have been introduced by this great change. But we cannot look back without regret at seeing the break which it caused between us and so many sacred recollections; and we look with reverence, such as monuments of great achievements claim, upon those who studied in the venerable halls which Cardinal Allen and so many martyrs had consecrated. They have been the depositaries of those sacred traditions which form yet the basis of our missionary system, and of our collegiate institutions; they preserved the sacred fire, when the Assyrian devastated our temple and drove our people into captivity, and they have brought it back to us, apparently almost extinguished, but, so soon as touched by the Sun of justice, able to burst into a flame.* It is not many years since all the Vicars-Apostolic belonged to this stout old race. The days of Bishops Poynter, Milner, Gibson, and Collingridge are not very remote; and even the coadjutors and successors of each of them, Bishops Bramstone, Walsh, Smith, (and his successor Dr. Penswick), and Baines, belonged to the same generation, at least in part. This was most natural, and as it should have been. But wave impels wave on the ocean of life, and each in its turn must break upon the

* 2 Mac. i. 22.

shore. Our colleges have not been barren, and among their fruits have been the bishops of our present generation.

It pleased divine Providence to give the late revered Bishop Walsh the advantages of that earlier period of trial, to train him up in the patriarchal school of our clergy, to give him a taste of that persecution, which every development of liberal principles, fully carried out, is sure to inflict upon the clergy and the Church, to bring him to this country sufficiently young to adapt his mind to new moulds, to be familiar with the best and wisest of the former generation, and then raising him to the episcopacy, to prolong his life into a new period of progress and expansion, and place him in its very focus and centre. It will readily be acknowledged, that a life and position like this, though barren perhaps of incident, (for the life of a Catholic ecclesiastic can present but little of this,) is an interesting subject of observation, and if fully acted up to, not unworthy of an eloquent panegyrist.

Bishop Walsh was born, as Dr. Weedall informs us, in London, in October, 1776,* and was first educated a protestant at St. Alban's grammar-school, whence he was removed to St. Omer's. It is not uninteresting to consider with whom he there associated; as the following extract from Mr. John O'Connell's life of his father informs us.

"Their uncle's new orders were that they (O'Connell and his brother) should proceed to St. Omer; whither, accordingly, they proceeded, and remained a year—viz., from early in the year 1791, till a similar period of 1792, when they were removed to the English College of Douay for some months.

"Mr. O'Connell soon rose to the first place in all the classes at St. Omer's. His two close pressing rivals have since, each of them, reached the highest grade of their respective professions. The one of them became a Catholic priest, and has been for many years the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, the venerable and most esteemed and respected Catholic bishop of the Midland District in England. The other of them, his beloved friend and relative, alas! lately deceased, Christopher Fagan, went into the service of the East India Company, in which he rose to the rank of general, and filled that

* Dr. Weedall tells us "about the middle of October," and in a note, "on the 11th or 13th." We have before us the following entry in the family bible: "Thomas Walsh, born y^e 3rd of October, 1776."

most important office (especially important in India) judge-advocate-general of the Indian forces.

"Such were the fortunes of the three leading boys at St. Omer's, in the year 1791."*

We quote this the more readily, because probably an impression has existed among those who knew the Bishop only at a later period of his life, that he had never highly prized scholastic learning, nor paid much attention to it. It is not often that a Catholic priest, still less a bishop, can procure leisure for the cultivation of early pursuits: and in him the love for ascetic and devout reading certainly prevailed over every other species of literature. But it was not difficult to discern, that he had laid, in early youth, that solid foundation of sound learning, which our Colleges never failed to give. *It is not our intention to repeat what has been so simply and so well narrated by Dr. Weedall, concerning the early period of the Bishop's life. It is of his episcopacy principally that we wish to treat, as contrasted with that of the bishops described in the protestant Speculum.*

The Midland District of England was supplied with three successive Vicars-Apostolic from the clergy of London: Dr. Stapleton, Dr. Milner, and Dr. Walsh. The first of these was elevated from the presidency of St. Edmund's College to that District, and took with him the last, not yet a priest, as his secretary. But he died after an episcopacy of one year, and was succeeded by Dr. Milner. The latter continued the confidence of his predecessor in our late venerable prelate, and after many years of observation—and his observation was keen—obtained him for his coadjutor and successor.

We can hardly imagine two persons of more different characters than these two bishops. Dr. Milner was a man of almost rude vigour, of quick intelligence and ready thought. His weapon was his ever-pointed pen, and he could use it powerfully and successfully. When dealing with an adversary, he was not by any means gentle in battle, nor merciful in victory. He feared not to cut, and too often he wounded deeply. In manners plain and homely, in outward garb simple to negligence, in the ex-

* Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M. P., edited by his son, John O'Connell, M. P. Dublin, James Duffy, 1846.—p. 7.

ternals of the episcopacy, even in church, satisfied with what was essential, and of bare necessity, a sincere hater of all state or assumption of dignity, and if any thing, blount and rough in general demeanour, yet beneath this rude exterior bearing a tender, as well as a manly heart, not only revered but deeply loved by all in contact with him, open-handed to the poor, most zealous in every ecclesiastical duty, and distinguished for a sincere and earnest piety, Dr. Milner presented a true specimen of that old self-devoted clergy, who for centuries had been obliged to disguise their clerical character, and, to use an expressive phrase, to "rough it," in the work of their perilous mission.

Now with this character beside, if not under, which Bishop Walsh was formed for the episcopacy, let us contrast the description of him, so well given by one who, in his turn, became his disciple, and had every opportunity, as well as every desire, of studying his disposition.

Thus spoke Dr. Weedall of him, in his funeral oration:

"In short, whether as priest or Bishop, our beloved pastor was the *forma gregis ex animo*, (1 Pet. v. 3;) a bright model of every ecclesiastical virtue. He was simple minded, and single hearted, a lover of his people, a lover of the brethren, a lover of religion, a lover of the Church, and a lover of God.

"In private life he was mild, cheerful, courteous and amiable. He never seemed to harbour an uncharitable thought, or to drop a bitter, scarcely an angry word. He was most abstemious and mortified as regarded himself, but most considerate and indulgent to others. He spent little on himself, that he might give more abundantly to others; and in all cases of charity or necessity he was, like his illustrious predecessor, not only liberal, but munificent. For both had well studied what St. Paul has portrayed in his Epistle to Titus, that a Bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God.

Not proud, not subject to anger, not given to wine, not greedy of filthy lucre. But given to hospitality, gentle, sober, just, holy, continent.—(Tit. i. 7, 8.)

"Charity and humility were his characteristic virtues, and by these he established a close union with God, and became, in an eminent degree, a man of prayer. In this holy exercise he was as exact as he was well versed, and being convinced that without it a priest is a mere phantom, as even a Christian is but a name, he never ceased to recommend it on all occasions where either light was wanted, or relief was sought. This, I believe, was the secret of the great success which followed all his undertakings. He looked for light within, to throw light on things without, and, if we may make a modest application of the expression of our Saviour,

he was both a burning and a shining light.—(St. John v. 35.) And, by a qualified analogy, he might appear to resemble the holy Onias, of whom the Scripture says, the vision was in this form. He was a High-Priest; a good and virtuous man, modest in his looks, gentle in his manners, graceful in his speech, exercised in virtues from a child; who holding up his hands, prayed much for his people, and the city of God.—(2 Mach. xv. 14.)"—pp. 7, 8.

This accurate description of Bishop Walsh's character will suggest many other points not here minutely entered into. His intercourse with the world was most courteous and mild; he was welcome at every house in his district, and wherever else he was known; he was scrupulously observant of all conventional forms, and though severely rigid in regard to ecclesiastical decorum, and pushing almost to excess his reserve in taking part in the most innocent recreations afforded by the world, yet his cheerful conformity to all its forms and usages in social intercourse, his unobtrusiveness, and his gentle bearing, made him a favourite with all his acquaintance.

But beside this marked difference of character, there was no less a difference of position and circumstances, in the episcopacies of Dr. Milner and his successor. The former exactly suited his time, and may have seemed to have been put forward, because previously a warrior for the Church, and for her highest privileges. It is certain that the democratic principles which convulsed Europe, at the end of the last century, forced their way into the Church, and gave rise there to the wildest and most dangerous theories on ecclesiastical government and discipline. In fact, it would be difficult to decide between Jansenism and democracy, which was cause and which effect, or to say if both sprung from some one subtle and unseen evil, some *aura corrumpens*, capable of generating at once

a religious and a social pestilence. Few of our readers, probably, will take the trouble of looking into the Catholic party writings of that day; but whoever does will be startled by the bold and perilous doctrines broached on one side, and their easy acceptance, or unresisted circulation in the Catholic body. Bishop Milner, however, gave them no rest; he pursued all false liberalism, especially where it entered the sanctuary, with unsparing hand; he unmasked the lurking schism which it hid; he dragged it unmercifully into open day, and called it by its right name, and put it to merited shame. Whether he will yet find a

biographer worthy of him, we hardly know ; indeed, it is a pity that his personal acquaintances and friends, who could have supplied so many characteristic traits of him, should be allowed to depart, without depositing somewhere their valuable recollections. But whoever undertakes this task will have to unfold a page in our ecclesiastical history, full of all that stirring interest that attends a crisis.

The crisis continued into the present century, when Dr. Milner was promoted to the episcopacy in the Midland District ; and that part of England was so particularly the seat of opinions to which he was irreconcilable, that the party holding them had received a name from a portion of it. The author of the *Speculum* thus does justice to the usual appointment of bishops in the Catholic Church.

"The Church of Rome knows better what she is about in the appointment of her Bishops ; the advancement of her system, the good of her community, and the stability of the Church, are her first objects. Then she seeks for the man who is best qualified to secure this great aim of her policy. The individual priest must be fitted for the throne, not the throne for the priest ; the head must be proportioned to the mitre, not the mitre contracted for the head ; the hand must grasp firmly and naturally the pastoral staff, the pastoral staff is not permitted to fall gracefully into the weak and shrinking but ambitious hand. This is the difference between the Romanist system and the Anglican ; the former looks to the Church first, then to the man. It is like a skilful artisan who has a nice piece of workmanship to perform ; the material and the operation are chiefly regarded in the selection of the proper instrument ; many instruments might be used, and the work be completed only in an unsatisfactory and bungling manner. This is our misfortune, or rather the misfortune of our system. We select our instruments at random, or from wrong premises, and then we see our workmanship spoiled or executed in a fashion which excites both ridicule and contempt. The Romanist controversial writer sees this weak point in the Anglican regimen, and through it he strikes home with a keen weapon into the very seat of our ecclesiastical life."—pp. 41-2.

Never was this more true than in the instance before us. There was need of a staunch warrior in the episcopate at that time, a man of high-standard principles, inflexibly opposed to the insidious Gallicanism, not to use a stronger name, which was creeping in, still more to that yielding liberalism of a miserable school of lay theologians, far too much listened to, that had arisen. To this had now to be

added the attempt made by Blanchard and his partisans, to infect our clergy with the insane schism of the petite eglise, and shake their allegiance to Pius VII. Dr. Milner continued, in his episcopacy, that stern orthodoxy, that unflinching advocacy of sound Catholic doctrine and discipline, which he had displayed as a priest. His pastoral letters to his clergy, year after year, are directed to the enforcing of high principles of Church government, and exposing, with just rigour, the fallacies and errors of the innovators. We will not allude to the more contested ground of the Veto question, on which we believe that now there is no difference of opinion; and this we owe to the vigorous opposition of Dr. Milner. But in the clear field of theological contest, we can have no hesitation in asserting, that he was as watchful as courageous, and as active in keeping the wolf from his fold, and grappling with him when he had got in, as ever was shepherd in Israel.

And what was the result? That he lived to see peace and unity result from his endeavours, to repose quietly beneath the shade, and taste the fruit of the vine of his own planting, surrounded by a clergy fast bound together in mutual concord, attached to their bishop by sincere affection, zealous, active, and soundly orthodox. We can easily imagine him, as age advanced, pondering on the serious responsibility of providing a successor able to continue his work, and bring it to perfection. He would see it needed no longer to be the intrepid champion, and the ever ready swordsman; but that one was required more suited to the peaceful times that had succeeded the period of contest, of gentler bearing, and more conciliatory habits than his special mission had permitted. He chose one whom he had always esteemed and loved, and whom yet he had known to be possessed of qualities and a character totally different from his own. In this we see great wisdom and most unselfish zeal. It was the work of God, and not his own, that he desired to see successfully carried on. In 1826, he went to receive his reward, and left Bishop Walsh, after about a year's coadjutorship, in sole possession of his District.

We have entered, somewhat at length, into the character and pontificate of Bishop Milner, not so much on account of his individual merit, as to show how different was the state of things under which Dr. Walsh received his episcopal training, from that in which he had to exer-

cise his duties. For this we consider to have been his *peculiar gift, to have adapted himself so admirably to the most novel and unexpected crisis, which occurred in his government, and which called for his active guidance and co-operation.*

The extract which we last gave from the *Speculum* speaks truth to a certain extent. But it considers the appointment of Catholic bishops as a measure of human prudence and skill. The Catholic looks higher, and believes these elements of government to be over-ruled by a higher power—that Spirit who rules in the Church, secures her from error, and firmly welds each new link on to the chain of genuine apostolic succession. He believes also that a bishop, so chosen and appointed by the supreme authority of the Church, if he seek for aid from above, and devote himself to his duty, has the grace of his office conferred upon him, and adapts himself to the exigencies of his times and his place. The acts of two bishops of equal merit may be totally different in their characters. And the real glory of each will consist in this, that, chosen by Providence for any given end, or rather seeing in what direction the tide of its dispositions is impelling the Church, he generously and unhesitatingly throws himself into the gulf-stream, and seeks to steer the bark committed to him according to its course.

Bishop Walsh had not long been on the episcopal throne, when it became obvious to every one that a new epoch in the history of Catholicism in this country had arrived. We had emerged from darkness, and from contention; we were beginning to enjoy peace; and peace brought its natural consequences of development and increase. These were especially manifested in two various ways; and it is singular that both came into immediate, and indeed primary contact with him, and that it was his duty to direct them.

The first consisted of that archæological and ecclesiological movement, which turned the attention of men to the external beauties of the Catholic religion in arts, in liturgy, and in the dignity, propriety, and splendour of its ceremonial. We need not enter into details. We need not remind our readers that, singularly enough, the first architect who revived taste for these important objects, received his first commission from Dr. Walsh, and had executed or commenced for him several spacious and fair

churches, or other edifices, before similar undertakings had commenced elsewhere. This, we will not deny, was purely accidental, and due to the fortunate concurrence of two other circumstances. The architect found in that district a patron who combined wealth, taste, and zeal—three rarities when together; and a munificent legacy to the bishop enabled him to undertake, on his own account, great and noble works. But this very concurrence of accidental circumstances necessary for carrying out anything important for religion, is precisely what we wish to call providential. Now how easily might the whole of this dispensation have been thwarted. Had the architect been coldly repelled, or civilly dismissed after his first commission, or had the funds left by Mr. Blundell been otherwise appropriated, the first great start could not have been made when and where it was; and it belongs only to the province of conjecture to say how otherwise it might have originated. As it is, we think no small merit is due to the late venerable prelate for the manner in which he seized the moment to begin, and catching, if one may so speak, the eye of Providence, understood its designs, and boldly carried them out, so far as they needed human co-operation. And this is no ordinary praise. It was not a work before spoken of, thought of, dreamt of even. It would have appeared like a huge chimæra, half-a-dozen years earlier, to have talked of our building large, three-aisled churches, with towers, and spires, and richly-stained windows, and gildings, and carvings, and many good altars; still more to have planned large conventual buildings in keeping with their purposes. Now mark the difference. Dr. Milner was an enthusiastic antiquarian, full of scientific admiration for Gothic art. He had published a history of it; and his work on Winchester was one of the first trumpet-calls to Christian art to rise from its tomb. Yet, though he attempted to build Gothic chapels, never were there such miserable failures. And why? Simply because the time was not come. He was the David who had "fought many battles," and was not destined to build a house to God; to his successor, the Peaceable, was reserved this glory.* Yet he was a man who had paid no attention to art, had not studied it, had little skill in appreciating the beauties of any particular

* 1 Chron. xxii. 8.

period of it, perhaps could hardly distinguish one from another. He had no eye for beauty in painting or in carving; he could hardly be said to possess any taste. Again, in regard to Church functions and ceremonial, he had shown no particular acquaintance with it, or liking for it: on the contrary, he was naturally little qualified for it.

Notwithstanding this want of previous training and of natural tastes, no sooner did the movement for making every use of the Church's external resources spring up near him, than he unhesitatingly threw himself into it. Though previously his one thought had been the establishment of new missions, however humble, and he might have devoted his newly acquired resources for that purpose, he felt that the time was come to love, procure, and enhance the beauty of God's house; to cultivate, on behalf of religion, the rising taste, and to exhibit Catholic worship in all its beauty and all its majesty. With him all this was a matter, not of taste, but of duty. He saw that multitudes flocked where beauty of architecture, splendour of decoration, and grandeur of ceremonial attracted; he witnessed with pleasure, the increased piety, and fervour which these inspired—the various devotions to which they seemed to give birth, the greater command which they gave the pastors over their flocks, who now more loved their church, and the advantage which they bestowed in arguing with Protestants. In other words, he looked at the Providence that was there, at the Divine will, manifested in these results, that grace was to work through these instruments; and he firmly obeyed the call. He led the way in great functions, such as had not been witnessed in England. For these he not only provided, at great cost, the requisite ecclesiastical furniture, but he may be said both to have presented the models to others, and to have first founded the very manufactories which have since supplied all England. The “artificers in every work of brass and iron, and of carpenter's work, and tapestry, and embroidery in blue and purple,” were set to work first for him.

The merit, then, of the pious prelate does not merely consist in his happy patronage of a skilful architect and artist like Pugin;* but to our minds lies much deeper.

* Dr. Weedall, p. 12.

It consists in his having skilfully and boldly seized, just at the right moment, the spirit and the movement of the times, and having led them on, in spite almost of his own natural ideas and tastes, and of the bent of his own mind, and of the previous course of his ecclesiastical education.

*In this we see the true characteristic of the *Sacerdos magnus*, "the great priest,"* one chosen by God to make an epoch, and point out His providential ways to others.*

If it is singular that the elements, from whose combination sprung the great artistic development of religion, should all have been found in conjunction with Dr. Walsh, and in his district, our surprise must greatly increase when we find another, and a still more important movement simultaneously developing in the same place, and under the same jurisdiction. The first affected the exteriors of religion,—its body; the second regarded the essentials of faith,—the very soul of the Church. One tended to promote admiration of her beauty, the other the admission of her truth. Oxford, the source of this most wonderful impulse, was situated in the Midland, and afterwards the Central, District, over which our venerable bishop presided; and it became his duty, more than any other prelate's, to watch the course of the new movement, and to bring it to a salutary result. Now here, again, had one looked for those qualifications in him which might have appeared requisite for the task, or likely to make him feel the strong interest of his position, one might have been disappointed. We know, indeed, that while the movement was yet in its infancy, he felt its importance, and knew what his duty was concerning it. Yet personally he did not enter into the consideration of the peculiar views which guided the movement, nor would he willingly have entered into discussion on any of its leading topics. His controversy, his theology, which he knew well how to handle, were those of the older period, when we had more to combat coarse prejudices and vulgar errors regarding ourselves, than to unravel the twisted web of supposed apostolic succession, or to dissect the ludicrous scheme of branch churches. Again and again he has been heard to say, that he could not comprehend the bearings of this modern controversy, nor see how it was possible for those who held such principles as composed what was called

* Text of the Funeral Oration.

Oxford views, to remain a day out of communion with the Church. In fact, he never mastered the theories of the day; but he fully saw their importance, and the great results to which they could lead. It may have escaped the memory of our readers that, at the time, there was difference of opinion among Catholics as to the hopefulness of the movement, and as to the mode of dealing with it. Many—perhaps the greater part—anticipated from it no great results; some almost doubted the sincerity of its leaders, or their readiness to make necessary sacrifices; and not a few were for treating the party with rigour, repelling its advances, and exacting severe trial. Others were for patience, forbearance, and hopeful, kind encouragement. Again we may say, that natural bias, and the school in which he had been trained—that of his illustrious predecessor—would have inclined him to the more unbending and rigid course. But here, again, he was guided by a higher sense of the exigencies of a providential crisis; and he resolved to follow that mild and encouraging course, which not a little helped to mature and complete that movement. To all that presented themselves for reception or instruction, the door of every establishment in his district was kindly thrown open, and every opportunity was afforded for discussion, instruction, and preparation for future duties.

No one rejoiced more than he in the success of this liberal course. But in fact, it seems difficult, on looking back, to separate the two movements which we have sketched out: one would have been incomplete without the other. The visible and material development of the Church's resources would have been little worth except as part of a quasi-sacramental blessing, as the outward sign of a great, proportionate inward grace, which here was that of conversion. Church and college, monastery and convent, however richly formed, were all only vessels that must be filled with a precious and still more costly gift. Nor was it of little moment, that the first greeting of many who entered the Church, possessed of strong æsthetic feelings, should be such as to display at once her outward charms, and prove her even, by her very attire, in *vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate*, (Ps. xlv.) to be the true bride of the Lamb. And it would have even been difficult, under other circumstances, to have exemplified the real character of those ritual observances, which, as part of

the Church's laws, ought certainly to be accurately followed. We therefore look upon the two concurring movements of which we have spoken, as parts of one great whole; one affecting the body of the Church in this country, giving it growth, strength, and beauty; the other producing corresponding development in her spirit, bringing into it much learning, strong intellectual vigour, and a greater power of adapting itself to a new position, and to altered circumstances.

We could say much more to confirm the view which Dr. Weedall has taken of Bishop Walsh, but we have already exceeded reasonable limits. We have endeavoured, therefore, to confine our remarks to his peculiar merit, as we look upon it, of having diligently noted "the signs of the times," as they affected his duty, and having, without neglect of other obligations, generously and boldly set himself to follow them; of having thrown himself fearlessly into the current of providential dispensation, and seconded it to the utmost. But after all, the glory belongs to a higher Power; and the noblest merit to which a pastor of the Church can aspire, is that of being chosen, as an instrument of grace, as the agent for any new blessing upon God's people. This, certainly, our venerable prelate, as we have seen, was selected to be; and this entitles him to rank among the "great pontiffs" of our Church. The virtues, the piety, the holiness of his life, whereby he qualified himself for this purpose, belong to another, and more sacred page, than ours.

But what we have said will not be deemed misplaced here, even as a tribute of gratitude towards one who ever looked upon our Review as a means, among others, employed by Providence to forward the cause of truth in its new contests; who from the beginning encouraged it, and in its trials generously upheld it. May this simple record of his merit prove that his kindness was not undeserved!

ART. VIII.—I. *Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches.* (Constitution of the German Empire.) Frankfurt am Main, 1849.

2. *Das Deutsche Parlament und der König von Preussen.* (The German Parliament and the King of Prussia.) By Dr. HERMANN MÜLLER, Deputy to the Frankfort Parliament for Aix-la-Chapelle. Frankfort, 1849.
3. *Frankfurt und Deutschland,* (Frankfort and Germany,) in the "Historisch-politische Blätter," vol. xxiv. Munich, 1849.
4. *Stenographische Berichte der Verhandlungen des Frankfurter Parlamentes.* (Shorthand Reports of the Debates of the Frankfort Parliament.) Frankfort on Main, 1848-9.
5. *Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des Katholischen Vereines Deutschlands.* (Records of the First Meeting of the Catholic Association of Germany.) Mayence, 1848.

THE revolution, which in the last calamitous year has convulsed Germany to its foundations, deranged its commerce, spread dismay and havoc among all orders of its population, humbled its dynasties, filled its cities with uproar and bloodshed, and polluted them with frightful massacres,—this revolution men had long been prepared for. The French revolution of February only ignited the train that for a long period had been laid.

All great political changes, whether they act as devastating torrents, or as gentle and fertilizing streams, have their source in the high regions of the spiritual world. Religious doctrines, whether true or false, whether rightly or wrongly applied, are the great lever of human society; and all the great outward movements that advance or retard the course of humanity, that overturn or re-establish states, have their type and their origin in the invisible sphere of ideas.

Let us first direct our attention to Protestant Germany, and there see what were the causes, moral and political, that have brought about the revolution. Of the deplorable state of Protestantism in Germany, our readers are doubtless fully aware. They know that the Lutheran communities in that country have rejected the doctrines of original sin, the Atonement, sacramental grace, the divinity of our Lord, and the Trinity, with the same headlong violence as their founders repudiated the authority of the

Catholic Church, her seven Sacraments, the Eucharistic sacrifice, intercession of Saints, and purgatory. The Book, whose dead letter their fathers had adored—which, to the exclusion of the living voice of the Church, they had constituted the sole rule and standard of belief, the modern German Protestants divested of all divine authority, mutilating its sacred codes, expunging its record of miracles, and distorting, by interpretations no less mean than sophistical, its plainest historical testimonies. Whoever wishes to trace this melancholy history, may consult the German work of Höninghaus, "*My Travels through German Literature*," or Rose's "*Lectures on German Protestantism*," or Robertson's *Memoir of Möhler*, where the subject is treated in a briefer compass.

But out of this Rationalism, which is so widely and deeply spread through Protestant Germany, numbering as it does the great majority of the clergy and educated classes, and even no inconsiderable portion of the lower orders, a hideous Pantheism has within the last twenty years sprung up, that denies the personality of God and the immortality of the soul, confounds the creature with the Creator, and annihilates the distinction of right and wrong. This Pantheism, involved in the obscure metaphysics of a deep but perverted thinker, Hegel, who took care not to educe all the consequences of his doctrines, and even at times veiled his errors under the terms of Christian theology; this Pantheistic philosophy, we repeat, in all its relations to religion, has been more clearly developed by Strauss, and with a more reckless and cynical effrontery still by Feuerbach and Bruno Bauer. Under the banner of these profligate writers a host of young men gathered their forces, and by the press, clubs, and secret societies sought to spread their detestable doctrines. Nor did they confine their efforts to philosophy, but politics became a special object of their attention. Their social and political doctrines were not less subversive of all morality and order, than their theological tenets were absurd and impious. They openly preached up the destruction of all existing law and civil authority, the establishment of an unlimited democracy, the abolition of property, and the dissolution of all nuptial ties. Herein they formed a decided contrast to the old Hegelians, who professed an outward regard for religion and morality, respected the

outward decencies of civilized life, and were firmly wedded to the absolute government of Prussia.

While among the educated classes these profligate writers diffused their pestiferous doctrines, a number of *secret societies*, spread through Baden, Wurtemberg, Rhenish Bavaria, Saxony, and Northern Prussia, and whose head-quarters were in Protestant Switzerland, initiated the lower orders in the hideous mysteries of an atheistic communism. It was among the operatives and apprentices, who, according to the German custom, are compelled to pass their years of apprenticeship in different cities, that this infernal propagandism found its most active emissaries.* From the great danger of seduction by these secret clubs, the German governments several years ago found themselves obliged to interdict their artisans' entrance into the Swiss territory.

Against such elements of moral destruction, the orthodox Protestantism, whatever form it might assume, whether that of the old and effete Lutheranism, or of the modern Pietism, where a certain religious sentiment, or rather sentimentality, is sought to be awakened, without strict regard to dogma,—this orthodox Protestantism, could but little avail. Pietism not unfrequently degenerated into a fearful fanaticism; while vice and immorality kept pace with the Rationalism and Indifferentism more or less widely prevalent in the different districts, and among the various classes of the Protestant population. In some German states, and among some ranks of society, this moral and doctrinal corruption is of course far less generally dominant than in others; and Catholicism, which reigns over one-half of Germany, exerts an indirect, but beneficial influence over its Protestant inhabitants. But on this subject we shall later have occasion to speak.

II. We proceed now to examine the political causes of the revolution in the Protestant parts of this great country. It cannot be expected that, where the moral order of things hath been so deeply convulsed, social order should remain intact; and that where men have ceased to fear and love God, they should look with reverence upon kings and magistrates. But, independently of these moral

* See the particulars on this subject in the *Historisch-politische Blätter* of the years 1845, 6, 7.

causes, the political institutions of Protestant Germany were in many respects radically defective. Firstly, in Prussia, especially, had the false system of administrative bureaucracy struck the deepest roots; for here it was not counteracted, as in some other countries, by the representative system. How injurious is the dead mechanism of bureaucracy to a state; how it cramps the expansion of all the conservative forces and instincts in society, as well as stifles the growth of liberty, it is unnecessary to remind our readers. It degrades the political dignity of the nobles, and reduces them to the function of court-attendants; and by fettering the exercise of municipal and political rights, it tends to render the people passive automats, devoid of political knowledge, tact, and spirit, and therefore more obnoxious to the arts of demagogues. Secondly, the recent and artificial structure of several of the German states, not only introduced a spirit of disunion into their several parts, but was unfavourable to the growth of feelings of loyalty. How could the inhabitants of the Rhenish Provinces, for example, feel the same attachment as the Pomeranians to the House of Hohenzollern? how could the Province of Franconia, for a thousand years an independent ecclesiastical principality, possess the same devoted enthusiasm for the House of Wittelsbach, as its hereditary duchy of old Bavaria? Thirdly, the sentiments of dutiful allegiance, which the Catholic inhabitants of Baden, Wurtemberg, and Prussia would, from their religious principles, have naturally entertained for their respective sovereigns, were weakened by the perpetual encroachments of those sovereigns on their ecclesiastical liberties. Fourthly, not only the Catholic inhabitants of the Prussian monarchy, but many of its Protestant subjects, like the old Lutherans, who had resisted the reunion of the Lutheran and Calvinistic communions, as well as many of the more advanced Rationalists, like the *Friends of Light*, were irritated by the meddling and oppressive policy of the Court of Berlin in religious concerns. Fifthly, even in those countries, like Baden and Wurtemberg, whose political institutions were freer than in Prussia, the system of administrative centralization was as stringent as in the latter country, while the oppression of the Catholic Church and of Catholic education was far more galling.

Such were the moral and political causes that in Pro-

testant Germany paved the way for the Revolution of March.

If we now turn to the Catholic parts of that country, we shall find there, too, the seeds of revolution thickly sown. First, in Austria the legislation of Joseph II., by fettering the intercourse of the prelates with the Holy See, by hampering episcopal jurisdiction, by suppressing monasteries, or relaxing the discipline of such as were tolerated, and by controlling and vitiating public education, this legislation hath cramped the moral and intellectual energies of the Church. This system was the more dangerous, for the state, while it shackled the spiritual authority of the Church, failed not to treat her with outward respect, and even to defend her temporal wealth and honours. Thus was the Church nearly as much endangered by the favour, as by the hostility of the civil power; and already enfeebled by the encroachments of the state, she lost further influence, when she came to be considered by many as a mere engine of police. Secondly, the rigid censorship in Austria, while it was injurious to the cause of literature, was more adverse to the spread of good, than of bad books. The censors often permitted the publication of irreligious and indecent poems and romances, while they not unfrequently prohibited Catholic works.

A free press, whose abuses are vigorously repressed by the arm of justice, is most conducive to the interests of religion, as well as of letters.

But in despite of the laxity of a large portion of the clergy, and the licentiousness of so many among the nobles, the great bulk of the people in Austria has remained firmly wedded to its faith, and has retained its ancient simplicity of manners.* We speak of the German and Bohemian provinces. In Servia the people are distinguished for a rude, robust energy of faith and manners. In Hungary the nobility is, for the most part, corrupt in morals, and turbulent in politics; and a violent party, chiefly composed of Protestants, had long before the recent insurrection taken up an attitude of decided hostility to the government.

As to the political causes of revolution, bureaucracy in Austria was attended with many of the same evils which have been pointed out as existing in Prussia. There is,

* See Harter's Excursion to Vienna in 1838.

moreover, in this empire a great rivalry of races, which renders the task of governing extremely arduous.

Such are the causes, moral and political, that prepared the way for the convulsions of last year. But, beside these evils, there are many elements of regeneration in Austria. The junior portion of the clergy has in a certain degree partaken of the new spirit of life that has come over the German Church. The administration, though meddling and intrusive, has been in most respects benign and paternal; and in Church matters, the anti-catholic legislation of Joseph II. was mitigated by the late Emperor Francis, and in some cases even practically suspended by the better disposed functionaries. Though in general intellectual cultivation inferior to Protestant Prussia and Catholic Bavaria, Austria is surpassed by no German state in the mechanical sciences and useful arts.*

III. In consequence of the encouragement which Illuminism and Febronianism received from the government of Bavaria in the latter part of the last century and in the early years of the present age, they have struck very deep roots in that country. Yet, in despite of the irreligion and licentiousness that infected a large portion of the upper and middle classes, the great bulk of the people has remained inflexibly attached to the Catholic Church. In the reign of the late King Lewis a great reaction took place, and religion, defended and embellished by art and science, once more resumed her ascendancy over a considerable portion of the educated orders of society. But in the last two years of that monarch's reign, his scandalous amour with the infamous actress, Lola Montes, tended to undermine his well-earned reputation, and to excite general alienation and disgust. Under her fatal influence, too, the monarch chose a ministry hostile to the Church, and he made the most catholic-minded and distinguished among the university-professors and civil functionaries, a butt for persecution.

The political constitution of Bavaria, founded on the representation of orders, was excellent; and had the

* Count Montalembert declared three years ago from the French Tribune, that he had travelled through the length and breadth of the Austrian Empire, and found much more to praise than to blame in its administration. See also Hurter's Excursion to Vienna in 1838.

power of the police been checked, and the interference of the state in church, school, and municipal concerns been restrained, that constitution would have left nothing to be wished for.

But Bavaria, the most Catholic state in Germany, has to contend with serious dangers, moral and political. Besides that great evil of administrative centralization, which she has in common with the rest of Germany, she has provinces but recently annexed, and on whose sympathies her government cannot reckon with equal confidence. The Rhenish Palatinate, too, which from its long subjection to revolutionary France has become a hot-bed for religious and political unbelief, is rather a source of weakness than of strength to this state. Moreover, two-fifths of the Bavarian population are Protestant, and infected with the same rationalistic principles as their coreligionists in other parts.

In Wurtemberg, a third portion of whose inhabitants are Catholic, there is a mighty improvement in the younger clergy and a part of the laity—an improvement which, under God, is chiefly due to the immortal Möhler. Indeed, there is at present a very active Catholic party in Wurtemberg. In no state of Catholic Germany was religious indifferentism so widely spread as in the Grand Duchy of Baden; and here the regeneration has been much slower and more partial than in Wurtemberg. This, too, is the country, where, from the contact with France and Switzerland, revolutionary principles have exercised the widest and most destructive havoc. Yet, in despite of a hostile government, a degenerate priesthood, and the wide spread of irreligion and licentiousness among the higher and middle classes, the Catholic peasantry of Baden have remained in general true to the doctrines and practices of their Church.*

In the Catholic parts of Westphalia religion has struck the deepest roots among all grades of society; and as there is here a powerful and popular nobility, a strong spirit of political conservatism generally animates the inhabitants. In the Rhenish Provinces, too, but in a less

* In Baden, too, a far better spirit reigns among the junior clergy. The Theological Faculty of the University of Freiburg has for some years past exercised a happy influence on clerical education, as well as on religious literature.

degree than in Westphalia, the religious spirit, especially since the captivity of the Archbishop of Cologne, has been active and strong. But from the long sway of revolutionary France in these provinces, and still more from the oppressive policy of the late King of Prussia, a bitter feeling of opposition to the government has been engendered, that renders even the well-disposed inhabitants too often an instrument in the hands of revolutionary and anti-christian demagogues.

Such was the state of Germany when the French revolution of February broke out. This revolution spread like a hurricane over the whole of Europe. A popular assembly was convened at Heidelberg, consisting of constitutional liberals and violent republicans. They demanded a new constitution for the whole Germanic Empire; that a central power should be established at Frankfort, and that a legislative body should be associated with it. But in this declaration there was an express reservation made, that the new constitution should be framed with the concert and understanding of all the sovereign princes of Germany. It was agreed that a preliminary parliament, called Vor-Parliament, should be convoked, in which the general outline of the constitution should be traced. This Vor-Parliament was agitated by the contests between the moderate constitutional party and the republicans, whether Jacobin or Socialist. It was only by the greatest efforts that Henry Von Gagern, Welcker, and other leaders of the old liberal opposition succeeded in preventing the republic from being proclaimed. During this period popular meetings, secret societies, revolutionary clubs, and an inflammatory press kept most of the countries of Germany in a state of violent agitation. Outbreaks among the peasantry, accompanied with pillage and incendiarism, and serious riots in the towns, often added to the general confusion.

It was at this moment of excitement and insubordination, that the general elections for the imperial parliament took place. Hence we may account for the great force in which the republicans and the more violent liberals mustered in the national assembly, and in the local parliaments. In almost all the states of Germany, the elections that have occurred subsequently to that period of revolutionary ferment, have returned far better candidates.

It was in May, 1849, that the national assembly, as our

readers may remember, was convoked. We shall now proceed to give an account of the different parties composing it. To begin with the extreme left, not a few of the members constituting it are avowed Atheists, Pantheists, and Communists. Such are Vogt, Fröbel, Vischer, Küge, and others. The other members are, with few exceptions, godless Jacobins.* In the ranks of this party, also, are to be found, we regret to state, two or three Catholic priests, who by their schismatical doctrines, and by their attacks on the institution of celibacy, have long acquired a disgraceful notoriety. What are the sentiments of Hecker and his republican followers may be gathered from the fact, that a few months ago, on the trial of his friends, Strum and Blind, the latter declared, "there were six plagues in Germany,—the princes, the nobles, the bureaucrats, the capitalists, the parsons, and the soldiers." This was certainly a pretty clear and precise avowal of the "*Tabula rasa*" to which Communism would condemn society.

The left side, properly so called, consists of men, hostile, indeed, to the Red Republic, but who, acting up to the principle of popular sovereignty, deny to the princes of Germany the right of co-operation in the framing of the Constitution, and uphold doctrines which inevitably lead to a revolutionary republic. What utter ungodliness characterizes this party, the following fact will show. When, at the opening of the National Assembly, a Catholic prelate, a member of the legislature, proposed to offer up a prayer for drawing down the blessing of Almighty God upon its legislative labours, a leader of the left side, M. Raveaux, deputy for the old Catholic city of Cologne, insolently called out, that "this was the time for *acting*, and not for *praying*:"—a declaration which a heathen assembly would have scouted with horror. "*Ex uno disce omnes.*"

The left centre is composed of men who hold more moderate opinions; but who, nevertheless, vote with the

* Vogt on one occasion openly professed atheism in the national assembly. Vischer is a disciple of Hegel, whose Pantheistic doctrines he carries out to their furthest consequences. Fröbel, who fought last year with Blum on the barricades of Vienna, has published a work, wherein he preaches up atheism, materialism, the community of wives, and the abolition of property.

left and extreme left on many important questions. Such men as Eisenmann and Mittermaer are among the leaders of this fraction of the assembly.

The right centre is the most numerous section of the house. There sit the constitutional liberals, who own the leadership of the Baron von Gagern; there sit also the German doctrinaires, whose leaders are Dahlmann, Beseler, and others. They are distinguished for their rigid maintenance of the principle of imperial centralization, as well as for their pedantic adherence to the doctrine of national unity, and the stern exclusion of every non-Germanic race from the confederation, and on these points they differ from many of the conservatives. On the right and right centre sit the zealous Catholic members, nicknamed by the Protestants, ultramontanes; and who, hostile as they are to the revolutionary liberalism, are yet strongly opposed to the old effete bureaucracy, from which religion as well as freedom has had so much to suffer. The leader of this party was General von Radowitz, a man eminent for his great talents, and attachment to the Church and the system of a temperate monarchy. But the confidence his party reposed in him has been considerably weakened since, led away by a false feeling of patriotism, or yielding to the suggestions of a timid policy, he voted for the hereditary headship of Prussia, and, as a necessary consequence, accepted the revolutionary constitution as voted at Frankfort.* The other leading members of this party are Dr. Phillips, Dr. Döllinger, Dr. Lassauls, Dr. Müller† of Würzburg, Reichensperger, Bass, and others. The Catholic party, which was united on all great questions where the freedom and interests of the

* In this step General von Radowitz acted with many Prussian conservatives like Vincke and others; but, happily, no member of the Catholic party imitated his example.

† Dr. Hermann Müller, well known in Germany as an eminent scholar, as well as political writer, is the author of the able pamphlet that stands second at the head of this article. The pamphlet abounds with acute and pungent remarks, and the writer clearly proves the utter incompetency of the Frankfort parliament to proclaim a constitution without the sanction of the different governments, and the nullity of the election of the King of Prussia founded on that invalid constitution.

Church were involved, was, with few exceptions, agreed, too, on the more important points of secular policy.

On the extreme right sit many functionaries, especially from Prussia. The leaders of these Protestant conservatives are Vincke, Von Arnim, and others. Many of them voted last year with the left against the liberties of the Catholic Church: but, on witnessing the honourable conduct held by the Catholics in the tumults and insurrections of which Germany has been the theatre, they subsequently altered their policy, and on the second reading of the *Grund-Rechte*, or Bill of Rights, satisfied the just demands of the Catholic body. The tragic events of 1848 have opened the eyes of many.

But while the Frankfort parliament, with its turbulent left, and wavering centres, and menacing galleries, was saddening the hearts of all reflecting patriots; while the horrible assassination of two high-minded deputies, Auerswald and Lichnowski, was exciting the indignation and horror of all Germany; while the invasion of republican hordes was spreading terror through Baden; while rebellion, rampant at Vienna, was forcing the emperor to flee; and the parliament at Berlin, terrorized by clubs, was exhibiting the spectacle of the most ignoble anarchy, let us turn to Würzburg, where a very different scene meets the eye. In the venerable capital of Franconia, hallowed by so many religious and historical recollections, a synod of twenty-four bishops—the most numerous that had been convened since the sixteenth century—met to deliberate in this important crisis on the most momentous concerns of religion. Rarely in any country, or in any age, has a provincial council been composed of prelates more eminent for piety and learning. All the archbishops and bishops of the Rhenish and Westphalian Provinces, Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Central and Northern Germany, including some Austrian Prelates, were present either personally or by deputies, and were presided over by the Primate of Germany, the zealous and venerable Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg. Besides this primate, the most distinguished members of the synod were the Archbishop of Munich, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Prince Bishop of Breslau, the Archbishop of Freyburg, and the Bishop of Spires. The council was assisted by several eminent canonists, among others,—Dr. Döllinger and Dr. Phillips. At the conclusion of their deliberations, which were held

secret, the assembled prelates addressed to the German nation a most touching Pastoral Letter, wherein they describe, among other things, the beautiful concord that had pervaded the assembly, and how they had commenced their deliberations with the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the solemn reception of the Body of their Lord.

This Pastoral was accompanied with a Memorial, written with great clearness and precision, and in a tone of great boldness. The following are the claims made by the bishops. They demand, in the first place, the full freedom and spiritual independence of the Church; but on the question of the relations between Church and State they express themselves in the following wise and dignified manner:

"To bring about a separation from the State—that is to say, from public order, which necessarily reposes on a moral and religious foundation, is *not according to the will of the Church*. If the State *will perforce separate from the Church*, so will the Church, without approving, tolerate what it cannot avoid; and where the duty of self-preservation doth not command it, she will not dis sever the ties of connexion that have been knit in consequence of a mutual understanding. The Church, entrusted with the solemn and holy mission, 'As my Father hath sent Me, so send I ye,' claims for the execution of this her mission (whatever may be the public constitution of the State) the fullest freedom and independence. Her holy popes, prelates, and confessors have in all ages willingly and courageously given up their life and blood in behalf of that inalienable freedom. The bishops on this account openly declare, that where the relations of the Church to the State have been regulated by Concordats or other like compacts with the Holy See, and the faithful fulfilment of such compacts has been insured, there will they regard them as inviolable."—Deukschrift, p. 2.

In virtue of this principle of spiritual independence thus established, the assembled prelates have claimed the right of directing, without any interference on the part of the state, the education of candidates for the priesthood, and of founding schools, colleges, and all kinds of educational establishments for the Catholic laity, and of exercising the right of visitation over such Catholic institutes as may be already established, and whatever may be the measure or grade of instruction therein imparted, in order that Catholic faith and morality may suffer no detriment.

Secondly, the bishops claim the right of exerting a due canonical control, unfettered by any state interference,

over the moral conduct and spiritual ministrations of the clergy severally committed to their jurisdictions, as well as of determining the fitness or unfitness of all religious orders, corporations, and pious confraternities for promoting the interests of religion and morality.

Thirdly, the right of appointing prayers and public exercises of devotion, issuing or authorizing catechetical and devotional books, and directing everything appertaining to the liturgy of the Church, without restriction or impediment from the civil power, is the next claim put forth in the memorial.

Fourthly, the right of receiving and distributing alms for the poor, and of defending, protecting, and freely administering all ecclesiastical property; all property, moveable or immoveable, belonging to pious and charitable foundations, schools, colleges, hospitals, and asylums, is vindicated by the Synod.

Fifthly, it claims for all religious orders and congregations of men and women, and all lay confraternities approved by the Church, the same right of reunion which the new political constitution accords to secular associations.

Sixthly, free and unfettered communication with the Holy See; the receiving and publication of all papal bulls, briefs, and the like, are declared to be an essential, inalienable right of the Church, and the Royal Placet is pronounced to be repugnant alike to the honour, dignity, and functions of the ministers of religion.

Such was the energetic memorial which the Council of Würzburg addressed to the German nation at the moment when the Frankfort parliament was laying the foundations of the new constitution. We are happy to state, that the demands of the bishops are now with tolerable certainty insured; for directly or indirectly, expressly or implicitly, these religious liberties have been recognized by the Frankfort parliament in the Fundamental Rights, or Grund-Rechte, which it has proclaimed. The restrictions against the two orders of Jesuits and Redemptorists, which that assembly had on the first reading of the Grund-Rechte made on the right of religious association, were happily on the second reading revoked. It is true that these fundamental rights, so proclaimed at Frankfort, have not yet received the formal sanction of many of the governments of the several states; but among the objec-

tions and protests made by some of those governments and particular parties in Germany against several of the Grund-Rechte, not one has borne reference to the question of religious and educational liberty. Nay, the most influential of the Protestant governments in Germany, that of Prussia, granted last year a constitution, which is even more explicit in its recognition of the liberties of the Catholic Church than the Frankfort bill of rights.

But if the freedom of all religions—and, among others, of the Catholic Church—has been guaranteed by the Frankfort parliament, the latter has yet formally decreed the total separation of Church and State. This separation was sanctioned even by the Catholic members of the assembly, in order to avoid the worse evil of state interference in matters of religion. Dr. Döllinger, in his remarkable speech of August last year, suggested that, after the example of the United States of America, atheism should not be entitled to legal toleration; but this suggestion was not followed out. The outward observance of the Sabbath, however, is to be enforced; and public morality is not to be outraged by indecent prints or exhibitions of a like kind.

The danger and absurdity of this principle of separation of Church and State we pointed out on a former occasion;* but the fact is, that in many of the purely Catholic parts of Germany, like old Bavaria, the Tyrol, and parts of Austria, the people will not permit its adoption; and even in other Catholic districts, we doubt whether, in course or time at least, public feeling will endure the rigid application of that principle. On the other hand, many of the Protestants feel an extreme repugnance to this policy, well aware that so little intrinsic strength doth German Protestantism possess, that without the support of the state it will soon fall to pieces.

It may, perhaps, excite the astonishment of the reader, that a parliament so composed as we have described it, where the Catholic party was so weak, where the revolutionary liberalism was so strong and compact, and where even the Protestant conservatives entertain such prejudices against the Catholic Church—that such a parliament, we say, should have passed laws so favourable to

* See Art. "Religious and Social Condition of Germany," December, 1845.

Catholic interests. But the fearful progress of the Revolution, the staunch loyalty evinced by the Catholic population to their Protestant rulers, and the very force of the principle of religious liberty proclaimed in the new constitution, induced a considerable number of moderate Protestants to vote for the ecclesiastical liberties demanded by their Catholic countrymen.

But if now we examine the other enactments of the Frankfort Parliament, especially on the great constitutional questions, we shall find far less reason for satisfaction. There many timid, wavering, undecided members of the right and left centres have made the most fatal concessions to the revolutionary party.

I. To begin with the question of the suffrage for the different parliaments: the Frankfort assembly has decreed that every German of irreproachable character, who has attained the age of twenty-five, and is not living on public charity, is entitled to vote for the general parliament at Frankfort, and the other local parliaments.

This decree was passed by a large majority; and several excellent Catholic conservatives, deeming the rate of taxation proposed for the right of suffrage too high, gave their support to the measure. Universal suffrage, in a Catholic country especially, whereby the sound rural population is admitted to vote for parliamentary representatives, is, in our opinion, more conducive to the cause of order and freedom than such a narrow constituency as, for example, existed in France under the late Orleans government. But even under the most favourable circumstances, and among the best disposed people, the system of universal suffrage is ever a most precarious and perilous experiment. In the first place, this electoral system gives an excessive preponderance to number over property and intelligence, and, consequently, admits into the constituency masses over which neither the clergy, nor the great proprietors, nor the municipal magistracy, nor enlightened citizens of any class, can exert a wholesome influence.

In all cities there is a more or less considerable portion of men, who, from vice, ignorance, and abject poverty, are ever the easy prey of profligate demagogues. Secondly, the town-population is always more active, enterprising, better trained and organized for electoral purposes, than the inhabitants of the country; and it is often found that elections in towns exercise no little influence on those in

the adjoining rural districts. Thirdly, there are so many causes which suddenly sway the popular mind, that when universal suffrage in a large state is established, there the course of public policy can never be steady and regular, but must ever be obnoxious to dangerous changes. Thus an unpopular monarch, scandals at court, an unsuccessful war, a commercial panic, a revolution in a neighbouring state, may suffice to neutralize the most legitimate influence in elections, and insure the triumph of democratic principles. Because the French people, conducted to the verge of commercial bankruptcy and social destruction, elected by a truly heroic effort on the 10th of December, 1848, a conservative president, and because the approaching elections for the legislative assembly are expected to be as anti-revolutionary as the Chambers of 1815 and 1822, it follows not that the system will always work with equal success. What fruits it has produced in Austria, the Kremsier parliament, where, however, the Catholic and conservative party is strong, may suffice to show. If it be scarcely fair to cite the example of that parliament, elected as it was under the sudden excitement of a revolution, and in a country quite new to the representative system, we may look to the still more Catholic country of Bavaria, where popular institutions have long existed, but where the newly-adopted system of universal suffrage has brought forth a parliament in which the conservative element is not by any means as strongly represented as was expected. In the Rhenish Provinces, under the new law of universal suffrage, the elections, from hostility to the Prussian government, have been more democratic than elsewhere; men far more dangerous and inimical to the Catholic religion than the old bureaucrats, have been returned to parliament by a very religious people; and the new ecclesiastical and civil liberties guaranteed by the King of Prussia in the constitution of last December, the Catholic inhabitants of the Rhine, who for the first time had their destinies in their own keeping, have committed to the tender mercy of the foes of all religion and freedom. The Catholic clergy endeavoured to stem the headlong current of popular opinion, but they found that further opposition would tend only to compromise their spiritual influence. Such are the fruits of universal suffrage even in Catholic Germany. But in the Protestant districts of that country, where irreligion and Jacobinism

are so widely spread, where secret revolutionary societies have not the powerful countercheck of the Catholic priesthood, this system will be attended with the most fatal consequences.

Contrary to the legislation of every other country, the Frankfort assembly has refused to set any conditions for the eligibility of members of parliament. Every German of good repute may, without restriction, be elected as representative; and observe, this principle applies to the local parliaments, as well as to the national assembly at Frankfort. But if the constitution of the popular chamber at Frankfort, as well as in the several states, has been rendered so democratic, perhaps a check has been sought for in the institution of an hereditary aristocracy. Alas! in no part of their work have the legislators of Frankfort so signally failed as here.

II. They have formally abolished all the political rights of the aristocracy, have declared that no hereditary chambers should exist in any German state, have set aside all existing family entails, and decreed the equal divisibility of landed as well as moveable property, and have barely recognized, and by no large majority, the existence of titles of nobility. Thus has the Frankfort assembly servilely copied some of the worst enactments of the French constituent of 1789; enactments which have been among the chief causes of the social misery and instability of France for the last sixty years.

The Upper House, or House of the States, is to consist of the representatives of the German States, and are chosen, half by the government, half by the two chambers of the particular states. Prussia, which is the largest pure German state, is to send to the Upper House at Frankfort forty members; Austria, thirty-six; Bavaria, sixteen; Saxony, ten; Hanover, ten; and the smaller states in a relative proportion. The members of this house are elected for six years, and require no other condition of eligibility than good repute, the age of thirty, and the right of citizenship in the state electing them.

The National Assembly has, moreover, proscribed all the Upper Chambers existing in the particular states. They are to consist only of members chosen by a certain class of rate-payers. Such is the blow which the Frankfort assembly has dealt against aristocracy—aristocracy which in all ages, and almost all countries, has been deemed one

of the most indispensable as well as important elements of social organization. It will certainly be regarded by posterity as not one of the least marvels of the "annus mirabilis" which has just passed over our heads, that from an assembly where irreligion as well as Protestantism was so strong, and the Catholic party was so weakly represented, the orders of Jesuits and Redemptorists should have received a charter of toleration; while in the country in which aristocracy had once struck such deep roots, and where, even in these revolutionary times, the nobles constituted a seventh part of the national parliament, the political rights and privileges of nobility should have been proscribed, and its very titles scarcely tolerated! The fact is, that in Germany, as well as in France, the rage of destruction has been directed more against rank and property of all kinds, than against religion. The Christian religion, as the great protectress of all legitimate rights, of all social and domestic order, is, of course, an object of dread and detestation to the banded foes of human society. But it cannot be denied, that the revolutionary spirit, though in reality the same as in 1792, has in our times assumed a somewhat different form.

That revolutionary Assemblies, like the Parliaments of Berlin, and even Vienna, should proscribe Nobility, is perfectly intelligible; but that a parliament, like that of Frankfort, which has shown itself on many occasions conservative, should have passed the enactments we have described, may indeed excite astonishment. What does a State do, when it proscribes aristocracy? It proscribes the hereditary transmission of honours, which is itself a great incentive to glory; it damps the ardour of genius, maims the prowess of the soldier, and the energy of the statesman. This policy prevents the accumulation of large landed property, which is one of the chief sources of prosperity and civilization to a country; and by setting a ban on a class of men, in whom are more especially embodied the national recollections, and the national sentiments and genius, and who by their position, fortune, and education, are the most natural as well as powerful supporters of the throne and of public liberty, this policy, in the vain hope of establishing a chimerical equality, breaks with the traditions of the Past, and undermines all order and freedom. Hence is this institution of Aristocracy more universal than royalty itself. No Republic has possessed

durability, nor attained to greatness, where this did not form a strong, and even preponderant element; and one of the main causes of the despotism of the Mahometan States, is the impotence, or all but nullity, to which Nobility is there reduced.*

III. But in a Constitution which establishes unlimited suffrage, and proscribes aristocracy, what is the fate reserved for the Imperial Power? The Frankfort Parliament, untaught by experience, untaught by the bitter lessons which revolutionary France sixty years ago had given it, has renewed the fatal system of the suspensive Veto. This system, by tolerating Royalty, and yet withdrawing from it the last semblance of power—by rendering it totally dependent on the will of the people, degrades it to the Republican Presidency. It deposes in the Constitution a fatal germ of discord, whereby, according to the issue of the conflict, either the royal or the popular power must succumb; either despotism or anarchy must ensue. It is pretended, indeed, by the advocates of this principle, that in the modern Representative system the absolute veto is purely theoretical, and is never exercised; and that the suspensive veto, whereby parliamentary enactments may be deferred for two or three years, insures to the sovereign more real and substantial authority. We deny not that in the modern Representative system the Royal prerogative, more to the detriment of the people than of the monarch, is unduly fettered; but still we cannot subscribe to the above opinion. The *absolute* veto makes Royalty (in principle) independent of the Parliament; the *suspensive* veto establishes the theory as well as practice of its dependence; and it is precisely according to the sense of depen-

* Nothing could be more absurd than some of the objections urged against Nobility by several Frankfort Deputies, who did not even belong to the extreme Revolutionary Party. Thus the celebrated scholar, Jacob Grimm, who, by his profound researches on the Middle Age, ought to have spoken better concerning Nobility, scouted titles, and said that "Von" was a preposition without an ablative case!!! Another deputy said that the Nobles pretended that their skin was of a finer texture; but the physiologists did not concur in this opinion!!! Can anything be conceived more puerile than this? Many declared that the system of titles and orders was ridiculous. But how can those who have rejected the *ecclesiastical symbolism* have any respect for *political symbolism*? Religious and Political Unbelief ever go hand in hand.

dence or independence, that the Royal Power will enjoy a greater or less degree of respect, and possess a greater or less degree of durability. The *absolute veto* can be exercised, and therefore *may* be so under circumstances of imperious urgency; and besides, under the shelter of that prerogative, the wishes of the monarch exert an *indirect*, indeed, but still *powerful* influence. If, for example, the British Constitution had not secured to the Crown an absolute veto, never could George III. have threatened his Parliament with throwing up the government, and retiring to Hanover. The Royal veto, rarely as it was resorted to, was still a barrier, behind which the sovereign in the last extremity might intrench himself; and the pliant and conciliatory, as well as sagacious spirit of that Aristocracy, which from 1688 down to 1832, was dominant in our country, would never push Royalty to such desperate extremes. But when, as at Frankfort, the Parliament or Assembly is so democratically constituted, it would be vain to look for that temperate and conciliatory spirit.

This suspensive veto has been applied by the Central Parliament only to the Head of the empire; and in the particular States, the prerogatives of Royalty have been left intact. Against this enactment of the suspensive veto, many German Governments have solemnly protested; and although some Prussian conservatives gave their reluctant assent to it, it has obtained the hearty sympathy only of the secret or avowed democrats. This leads us to speak of the relations between the Central Imperial Power of Frankfort, and the several States of Germany; and this subject it will be well to discuss before we examine the question, as to what Power is likely to be placed at the head of the empire.

IV. The relations between the Imperial Power, and the different local Governments, form one of the questions on which the conservative and the revolutionary parties are most divided. It may appear at first sight strange that the partisans of pure democracy should advocate the principle of centralization, or the undue preponderance of a central authority. But such a surprise can be entertained by those only who are unacquainted with the despotic spirit of the revolutionary democracy. Wherever it triumphs, it wages war against all local liberties; for, first, it strives to concentrate power in its own hands, and in the next

place, it feels that where local liberties subsist, there all the natural influences, whether of character, talent, rank, property, civil magistracy, and spiritual authority, necessarily prevail; and these that democracy well knows to be its irreconcilable foes. But in Germany, not only were the municipal and communal liberties to be defended against the principle of centralization, but the rights, and to a certain extent the independence of the several States, were to be maintained.

The course of historical events in that country had been totally the reverse of what it was in England, France, Spain, and most other European kingdoms. In the latter, provinces once independent, had in course of time been united, and knit into a general monarchy; in Germany, on the other hand, the former provinces of the empire had from various causes grown into independent, and some even very powerful states, loosely bound together by a federal Diet. It was not to be expected that these States, which had for so many ages enjoyed an independent existence, which had each a history of its own, rife with glorious recollections, some whereof were kingdoms of the first magnitude, others of a second and third rank—kingdoms, too, let it be remembered, so widely severed by diversity of religion and of manners,—it was not to be expected, we say, that they would deign once more to descend to the grade of provinces. On the other hand, the bond of race and language, the interests of trade and industry, the security of the country in time of war, and its dignity in times of peace, lastly, the living recollection of Germany's ancient unity, rendered a closer union between her different Governments expedient and advisable. How, therefore, were these different claims and interests to be reconciled and settled? The conservatives maintained that the Central Power and Imperial Parliament of Frankfort were to be entrusted with those concerns only which were common to the whole empire; that even the Constitution, which that Parliament was to frame, and the various rights it would proclaim, could not be binding or valid until they had received the sanction of the several Governments; and that to those Governments and their legislatures were to be reserved the sole enactment of all special laws, and the sole management of all local affairs. The Liberals, on the other hand, including not only the Radicals and Jacobins, but the members of the Left Centre,

and even not a few of the Right Centre, pretend, in virtue of the anarchic principle of popular sovereignty, that the new Imperial Constitution needs not the approval of the different German Princes; that if that approval be solicited, it is purely for expediency, and even courtesy's sake; and that the central Parliament may impose what laws it pleases, and execute what measures it pleases in the different States.* The latter principle, if carried into execution, would, in our opinion, totally annihilate the independence, and even existence of those States. The Liberals, thinking that from the circumstances of its origin the Frankfort Parliament would become an obsequious instrument in their hands, were naturally inclined to give an undue extension to its powers. Some conservatives, too, as we said above, intoxicated with their new parliamentary privileges, could not brook any resistance to the decrees of Frankfort.

Another motive impelled the more consistent and energetic Republicans to strive for the absolute, unconditional supremacy of the central Parliament. If that Parliament were not to confine its attention to the common concerns of the Germanic Confederation, but to be allowed a jurisdiction over the local and special affairs of each State, it is evident that the different Sovereignties of Germany, and their local legislatures, would become useless and superfluous; but that very inutility would seal their doom. Once the princes of Germany swept away, the Republicans well knew that the central Power, weak as it was, could not represent what is called the Monarchical principle. Nay, supposing even that Power to be endowed with an absolute veto, and the Frankfort Parliament to be constituted on a sounder basis than at present, it is obvious that all those local feelings, hereditary attachments, and national traditions and recollections, which to a greater or less extent form the strength of Royalty in the several German kingdoms, could not be transferred to the new Imperial authority, recent in origin, and destitute of a hold on the affections of the people. Thus would a Republic, one and indivisible, be the natural, inevitable result of such a centralizing policy. But how utterly impractica-

* Such an opinion has been expressed, though in more guarded terms, by one of the leaders of the Right Centre, Henry von Gagern.

ble, and withal calamitous, such an attempt would prove, it is surely unnecessary to remind the reader. The establishment of a Republic in a country so extensive, populous, and burthened with such various and complicated interests, where, alas! too, unbelief and demoralization are so widely diffused—the establishment of such a Republic would lead to either a bloody terrorism, like that of 1793; or, as in Switzerland, though on a scale of far greater magnitude, to a prolonged disastrous civil war.

V. As if there were not sufficient elements of discord in Germany, as if the contests between Christians and Infidels, between Catholics and Protestants, between Pietists and Rationalists, and again between Liberals and Conservatives, between Monarchists and Republicans, between Democrats and Socialists, were not enough to distract that unfortunate country, the dispute between the advocates of Austrian and Prussian Supremacy must be thrown in as another combustible into the boiling cauldron of contention. The partizans of Prussian Ascendancy, headed by Henry von Gagern, are for rendering the Imperial dignity hereditary, and that in the person of the king of Prussia. To this preference many Prussians are led by a sense of patriotism; others by Protestant feelings, whereof they are more or less conscious; and others by the theory of national unity carried to a pitch of fanaticism, and in virtue of which they exclude from the Germanic Confederation all States, whereof a portion of the population is not Germanic. By this theory, as well as by the fact of the nomination of the king of Prussia to the Imperial dignity, Austria would be excluded from the Confederation, and would be regarded as nothing more than a natural ally.

The partisans of Prussian Supremacy assert, that unless an emperor be placed at the head of the Germanic Confederation, the political unity which all Germans so ardently pant for could not be realized; that a College, or Directory of Kings, would virtually restore the old Diet, which has just been suppressed; that Austria, which will not suffer her German Provinces to be severed from their connexion with the other parts of her Monarchy, cannot be invested with the Imperial dignity; and that in default of that Power, no other State remains, save Prussia, which, by its rank, its influence, its population, is worthy of that dignity. They add, that the Catholics of Germany need

not object to the supremacy of a Protestant Power, as their religious rights are sufficiently guaranteed by the Constitution; and in the next place, that though Austria would not form an integral part of the Germanic Confederation, she would still be connected with it by the bonds of interest, and of a common nationality. To these arguments their opponents reply, that the Directory of Princes, proposed by the friends of Austrian Supremacy, differs widely from the old Diet, inasmuch as its power would be tempered and restrained by one or perhaps two legislative Chambers; that a federal unity, which would acknowledge the independence of the several States in all local concerns, is alone practicable and expedient; and that with such an unity, a Directory or College of Princes is perfectly compatible, nay, for several reasons may be considered as most advisable; that the exclusion of Austria from the Confederation, so far from promoting German unity, would in fact lead to a dismemberment of the empire; that that exclusion would not only bereave Germany of twelve millions of her sons, but of the whole physical force of an empire of thirty-five millions, leave her whole eastern and southern frontier without defence in war, and in peace cut off from her the most advantageous channels of commerce, and deprive her indigent population of immense resources in the fertile but uncultivated tracts of Hungary and the other Danubian provinces. They add, that the letter of the Constitution, guaranteeing the full religious rights of Catholics, is insufficient, as the Protestant party, already so powerful, by having almost all the courts and governments of the confederation on its side, would be still further strengthened by the utter exclusion of twelve millions of Catholic inhabitants from the Germanic body. Lastly, they subjoin that the most ancient and most powerful of the German States, which was so long in hereditary possession of the Imperial dignity, would not tamely submit to the refusal of her participation, and even of her supremacy in the Germanic diet; and thus a civil war would inevitably ensue.

The Catholic party are, with few exceptions, opposed to Prussian supremacy. They know that by the exclusion of Austria, the Catholics would be but a weak minority; and recollecting how much the Church has already had to suffer from the court of Berlin, and that the radicals of Prussia are even still more hostile to Catholicism than her

bureaucrats, they look with extreme distrust upon such an elevation of that power. With an imperial constitution, in which the religious rights of Catholics are so clearly recognized, and which have even been confirmed in stronger language by the recent Prussian charter, it would be difficult, so long as that constitution were maintained, for the Protestant party to renew the persecutions of 1837 against the Catholic body. Yet we all know how in France the articles of the charter of 1830, which solemnly guaranteed freedom of the Church and freedom of education, were for seventeen years eluded by Louis Philippe and his ministers. And not to speak of the inherent weakness and instability of the new German constitution, and even supposing the religious freedom of Catholics not to be openly violated, yet an executive exclusively wielded by the Protestant party *might*, and (in all probability, under present circumstances) *would* prove highly dangerous to the interests of the Church.

The Austrian members, whether belonging to the right or the left side of the chamber, have with few exceptions voted against Prussian ascendancy, involving as it did the exclusion of their country from the confederation. The great majority of Bavarian and other South-German deputies gave their suffrage also in the same sense. The partisans of Prussian supremacy were, as we may suppose, chiefly recruited out of the deputies of that country, as well as out of a large portion of the right centre, headed by Henry von Gagern, and strengthened by a portion of the left side.

The Vienna cabinet, by its note of February last, addressed to the Reichsverweser, solemnly declared that it would not tolerate the exclusion of Austria from the confederation, nay, that the emperor laid claim to the presidency of that confederation. The Prussian monarch on his side has, on several occasions, and especially in his opening speech of March last, expressed his determination to act in the general concerns of Germany in perfect concert with all its different governments, and not to accept the imperial crown without their full concurrence. He has since held good his word. He has refused the imperial robe, which, like the mantle of Nessus, would have brought death and destruction; and has even dissolved his Lower House, because by a small majority it urged him to the acceptance of a constitution, that would have cer-

tainly led to civil war, and to the subversion of his own monarchy. In despite of the dangerous crisis wherein Germany is yet involved, the firmness of the ministry of Count Brandenburg, we hesitate not to predict it, will a second time save Prussia, and with it Germany, from destruction.

The Frankfort parliament, by a majority of four, decreed that the imperial dignity shall be hereditary, and by a majority of twenty-four conferred that dignity on the King of Prussia. But what is far worse, and may be attended with the most disastrous results, is, that the conservative partisans of Prussian ascendancy, including the greater part of the extreme right, have, in order to gain the suffrages of the revolutionary party, abandoned their doctrine of the necessity of princely sanction to the decrees of the central parliament, acknowledged the inherent validity of those decrees in every German State, and, consequently, subscribed to a constitution which contains, among other obnoxious and revolutionary articles, the suspensive veto, universal suffrage, the suppression of entails, and the abolition of nobility. Let us hear what this constitution is from a competent authority.

In its number of March 29th of the present year, the "*Frankfurter Zeitung*" says:

"Thus, at eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, the new German Constitution was despatched, and in all haste, without adjourned deliberation, without the least regard to the opinions and desires of the people, and of the governments, great or small. By a majority of four votes, the imperial dignity was declared to be hereditary; and with the same majority, it is said, will the parliament proceed to-day to the election of an emperor. O Paul's Church! O representatives of the German people! are ye really in earnest?"

"Austria must be put out at the door; the other German States incorporated; the South in favour of the North stripped of political equality; and all by a majority of four votes. Prussia is to give up its real, substantial power in order to conquer, amid the dangers and calamities of an European war, an idle name—an empire without a hold on the affections of the people, without power before the chambers, and without authority over the several governments. Behold a constitution without an imperial council—without a legal participation of the princes in the conduct of the common concerns of the empire—an upper House of States without a fair distribution of votes; for the southern half of Germany has been a second time curtailed of fifty votes; a Germany without

Austria, without Bavaria, without Saxony, without Hanover, &c. ; an empire without money and soldiers, surrounded by enemies at home as well as abroad, in the upper as well as lower regions of society ; an hereditary monarchy by the grace of parliamentary votes, dependant on the issue of every election, liable from year to year to abolition ; a centralization, which can be realized only on paper, or which, if any serious attempt be made to put it in force, must needs lead to civil war and anarchy—here to the terrorism of a convention, there to military despotism ; but in all cases to the overthrow of freedom, and the ruin of our country. See, Germans, this is your constitution."

On the question of Prussian supremacy, public opinion, it cannot be denied, is much divided. The Austrians and Bavarians are, with few exceptions, opposed to the measure ; and among the Catholics of Baden and Wurtemberg, the same spirit of opposition, though with less intensity, prevails. In the kingdoms of Saxony and Hanover, the governments are hostile to the imperial ascendancy of Prussia ; but the people are much divided in opinion on the matter. In the smaller Protestant states and principalities of Germany, which have always been more dependent on Prussia, and where the inadequacy of a military force to put down the revolutionary tumults and commotions of last year has forced the governments to lean more and more on Prussian aid, the advocates for her supremacy are naturally more numerous. The revolutionary party itself, as its votes in the Frankfort parliament prove, was not united in opinion on this subject ; but its more clear-sighted members were soon shrewd enough to see that the proffer of the imperial dignity to the Prussian monarch, by occasioning discord among the princes and peoples of Germany, is likely to serve the ends of the enemies of social order ; and that the imperial crown, indeed, cut and shaped out as it has been by the hands of the Frankfort artisans, is nothing more than "a paper crown of hereditary anarchy," as it has been wittily called, or the first prelude to a republic.

The King of Prussia has been doubtless placed in a most embarrassing position. By refusing the proffered crown, he has wounded the vanity of a large portion of his subjects, conservative as well as revolutionary ; and stung to madness the radical party, who thought he would have been lured by their perfidious bribe. On the other hand, by the acceptance of that crown he would have broken

with the most powerful governments of Germany, cast into the bosom of his country the brand of civil war, opened the floodgate of revolutionary passions, and perilled the integrity, perhaps the existence, of his own monarchy. Of two evils, he has chosen by far the less formidable one; and by his rejection of the proffered dignity, followed the counsels of prudence, as well as the dictates of justice and honour. Himself and ministers are entitled to the gratitude of Germany, and of all Europe.

VI. While such has been the policy exhibited by the central parliament—while the little good it has effected has been intermixed with so much evil, what has been the course of things in the particular states of Germany? It is surely unnecessary to recall to the recollection of the reader the deplorable convulsions that last year shook those states to their centre. The causes which brought about those political commotions, we have already summarily stated. Let us take a brief survey of the troubles themselves.

1. In Austria a revolt of students and workmen in the capital suddenly overthrew the bureaucratic monarchy, raised with such labour by Joseph II. and Francis I. An illustrious statesman, who, though certainly obnoxious to the charge of a too stationary policy, was distinguished, not only for his unrivalled skill in diplomacy, but for his humanity, his honourable attachment to religion and the furtherance of her institutions, his respect for letters, his quick insight into the demoniacal character of the French Revolution and all its ramifications, and his aversion to administrative centralization:—this illustrious statesman, after having guided the helm of the state for forty years was suddenly dismissed.* The feeble monarch, who at

* Prince Metternich is often held up as the very incarnation of bureaucracy. No conception can be more erroneous. In the first place, Prince Metternich found the bureaucratic government already existing, and did not introduce it. Secondly, his political power has been much exaggerated. Great as it was in foreign affairs, his influence, especially under the Emperor Ferdinand, was circumscribed in domestic politics. There he had to contend with an ardent opponent in the person of the Josephist, Count Colowrat. Under the patronage of some of his rivals at Court, farces turning him into ridicule have been brought out on the Vienna stage. Thirdly, he successively patronized the most distinguished publi-

first intended only to grant the reform of abuses in the administration, and to revive the dormant liberties of the old constitution, was soon compelled to make one concession after another to the spirit of revolution. A constituent assembly was convoked; elections on the basis of universal suffrage permitted; no regard paid to the politi-

cists, like Gentz, Frederic Von Schlegel, and Jarcke, who, especially the two last, were decided anti-bureaucratic, and advocates for the states-constitution, (*Stände-Vergassung*.) He was, moreover, a warm admirer of Görres, the most strenuous defender of that constitution, and the mortal foe of all bureaucracy. Within the last year Prince Metternich declared to his friends in England, that he was for *Consultative*, but not for *Collegislative* Chambers,—a system which, by the way, is alone adapted, for instance, to the Roman States. (See an article, entitled “*L’Emigration en Angleterre*,” in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, *Janvier*, 1849.) Fourthly, in the stormy period of thirty-three years during which, under Divine Providence, it was his wisdom that chiefly maintained the peace of Europe, he was ever noted for his temperate and conciliatory policy, and his avoidance of extreme measures. We are far from holding up Prince Metternich as the model of statesmen. His great error was to have opposed to the Revolution, whose spirit and tactics no one better understood, a *passive*, rather than an *active* resistance; and not to have made earnest endeavours for bringing about the religious and political regeneration of the Austrian Empire.

In confirmation of what we have advanced in the text, we must observe, that, under the influence of Prince Metternich, a Concordat in the last years of the Emperor Francis was negotiated between the Austrian government and the Holy See; but as its provisions were favourable to the rights of the Church, the success of the negotiation was foiled through the perfidious suggestions of the Josephist Archbishop of Vienna. By advice of this statesman, too, the Orders of Jesuits and Redemptorists were introduced into certain parts of the Austrian Empire; and if they had to submit to annoying restrictions, the blame is to be laid, not on Prince Metternich, but on the Josephist legislation and Josephist functionaries. His zeal for religion was shown in the anxious desire evinced by himself and his amiable consort some years ago to found near their splendid seat on the Rhine a hospital under the care of the Sisters of Mercy. His conduct, too, in the affair of the late Archbishop of Cologne, is admitted by German Catholics to have been highly honourable. Prince Metternich is said never to have exercised a single act of vengeance against his political opponents during his long sway. On one occasion he offered to an Italian

cal rights and privileges of the clergy and nobility; arms distributed to the mutinous youth of the university; while cowardly or evil-intentioned ministers submitted to the dictation of a licentious press and seditious clubs. While sedition was thus rampant in the capital of the Austrian monarchy, the flames of rebellion broke out in the eastern and southern provinces of the empire. The victorious sword of Radetzki—that veteran hero, who, at the age of eighty-four, has accomplished feats unparalleled by one in his years since the times of the aged Venetian Doge, Dandolo—quelled the insurrection in Lombardy. In the meanwhile, at Vienna, the revolutionary party, that ever prate so much of patriotism, but feel and understand it so little, gave no encouragement to the army in Italy, manifested even an unequivocal sympathy for the insurgents of that country, and were in secret league with the Hungarian rebels. A profligate rabble, stimulated by the clubs, and in the pay of the Hungarians, perpetrated on the person of the war-minister, General von Latour, an atrocious murder, unparalleled since the bloody days of 1792. Royalty, threatened with the fate of Louis XVI., was twice compelled to flee the capital, which fell under the ignoble sway of rebellious students and workmen. The result is known. The faithful army, under the command of the able and high-minded Marshal Windisch-Grätz and the chivalrous Jellachich, soon brought the revolted city to submission; and the great bulk of the population (for the chief agents of insurrection are aliens) received the conquerors with joy. This defeat, after that at Frankfort,

nobleman confined at Spielberg the use of his library; but was prevented by the Emperor Francis from executing his purpose.

The prince, who has long been regarded by the greatest British, as well as Continental statesmen, as an oracle in diplomacy, possesses a highly cultivated mind, and is extremely well versed in history.

Some of the facts here stated have been alleged on the authority of a very able article on the causes of the Austrian revolution, in the twenty-third volume of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*. The article is from the pen of a distinguished German Catholic writer, who from a long residence in Austria is well qualified to speak on the policy of Prince Metternich, and who although, or rather BECAUSE, he is a staunch conservative, is the mortal enemy to all ecclesiastical Josephism and political bureaucracy.

was the second severe blow inflicted on the German revolution. The feeble Emperor Ferdinand resigns the helm of the state into the hands of his grandson, Francis Joseph. The latter, from an extreme forbearance, still permits the parliament of Vienna, in despite of the signal incapacity, ignorance, frivolity, and evil spirit which for months it has exhibited, to prolong its wretched sittings at Cremsier.

The Austrian generals prosecute the war in Hungary with vigour; but the alliance of the Poles with the Magyar rebels, renders the intervention of the Russian arms an absolute necessity. This war is directed, not against the liberties or nationality of the Magyars, but against their arrogant assumption of independence, and their tyrannical domination over the Croats, the Servians, the Wallachians, and Germans of Transylvania. The able administration, headed by Count Stadion, adopts various measures for healing the wounds of the bleeding state; till, at last, by its advice the youthful emperor dissolves a parliament, which, in despite of better ingredients, had by its ignorance and imbecility of intellect, no less than by its revolutionary and irreligious spirit, filled the nation with impatience and disgust. He has granted a constitution, which, though labouring under some capital defects, (such as the non-recognition of the clergy and the nobility as orders and as political corporations, as well as the separation of Church and State, and a certain obscurity in the articles defining the liberty of the Church,) is far superior to the old bureaucratic monarchy, and may, we trust, with some modifications, insure to Austria a system of well-ordered freedom.

The defeat of rebellion, which had entrenched itself behind the barricades of Vienna, produced a wholesome reaction at Berlin. Amid all the calamities which last year overwhelmed princes and nations, not one sovereign had to drink so bitter a chalice of suffering and humiliation as the King of Prussia. At the moment when, in the March of last year, his brave and faithful troops had won a victory over the rebels, who (as is now proved) consisted for the most part of Poles, Frenchmen, and other foreign emissaries, he was weak enough to capitulate with the insurgents, withdraw the soldiers from the capital, and abandon for nine months that capital, and with it the whole state, to the tender mercies of the revolution. He

was even forced to assist at its most revolting spectacles. Under the windows of his palace were borne in procession the dead bodies of the insurgents, while the insolent rabble cried out, "Fritz, off with your hat." If the puerile imbecility of the Vienna parliament rendered its revolutionary spirit comparatively innoxious, there was in the parliament of Berlin a mixture of low cunning, vulgar meanness, headstrong turbulence, and deliberate malignity, that fills us with ineffable disgust and horror. For nine months did this parliament, by its intestine divisions, render all government impossible; till its more violent members prevailed, and brought the assembly by degrees under the sway of Jacobin clubs and a lawless populace. What with an inflammatory press, seditious placards, revolutionary and even communistic societies, and endless processions and conflicts in the streets, all trade, industry, prosperity, peace, and order vanished from the mob-ruled city. The state of siege under General von Wrangel has been an immense boon to the peaceful portion of the population; and the dissolution of the revolutionary chamber, as well as the formation of the ministry of Count Brandenburg, happily put an end to the reign of anarchy. The constitution granted by the king is far too democratic to have any chance of duration; but there are articles in it which entitle the monarch to the gratitude of all, and especially his Catholic subjects. Under this constitution, which establishes universal suffrage as the basis of popular election, a chamber has been returned, wherein the conservative party has obtained a feeble majority. In the upper elective chamber, where property to a small amount has been required as a qualification for electors, the conservatives possess a very preponderant majority. On the whole there is a strong political reaction in Prussia, which in certain provinces* is very manifest; and if the sovereign be but firm and prudent, and manfully persevere in his opposition to the revolutionary constitution as framed at Frankfort, and, on the other hand, introduce certain modifications in the charter which he has granted to his

* More especially in Pomerania and Brandenburg. When the late parliament decreed the refusal of the taxes, many proprietors, peasant as well as noble, came forward with voluntary and patriotic gifts. One nobleman, on this occasion, offered three of his sons to serve in the royal army gratuitously.

subjects, he will be able by degrees to extricate himself from the difficulties of his situation.

Not only in Prussia and Austria, but in Baden also, are the symptoms of political regeneration very evident. Constitutional associations have sprung up in a variety of places to counteract the manœuvres of the republicans, who last year, by their tumultuous meetings and armed insurrections, filled that country with dismay, violence, and bloodshed. There, as elsewhere, the recently founded religious association, called Pius Verein, has been productive of the greatest good in introducing among the people habits of civil subordination, as well as of virtue and religion.

In the old Duchy of Bavaria—the most conservative as well as religious country in Germany—very energetic protestations have been addressed to the local chambers by large portions of the constituency against the forced introduction of some of the Grund-Rechte, passed by the Frankfort parliament. The abolition of capital punishment, the indiscriminate settlement of artisans and tradesmen in all German towns, and more especially the suppression of entails and subdivision of landed property have been in those petitions most severely animadverted on.* As to entails, it is remarkable that their abolition by the Frankfort parliament has provoked more vehement remonstrance and opposition on the part of the peasant proprietors, than of the great aristocratic families. The peasants of Hanover, as well as Bavaria, declare that they will not permit the heritage of their fathers to be cut up by the sovereign lords of Frankfort, and themselves and children reduced from the rank of substantial, independent proprietors to a state of beggarly dependence.†

Thus we see in the three states—Austria, Prussia, and Baden—where rebellion has been most rampant, where social order has been most rudely shaken, an amelioration more or less decided by degrees taking place. This improvement is perceptible in other parts also of Germany. This leads us to the next topic of consideration,—the fears and hopes for Germany.

* See the very able article, entitled "Frankfort and Germany," in the *Historisch-politische Blätter* of 16th March, 1849.

† See *ibid.*

VII. If the imperial constitution in its present shape be adopted, political anarchy will be the unfailing result. But if that constitution were to receive the desired improvements, and yet the Prussian monarch were to be raised to the imperial dignity, and in consequence Austria and Bavaria remained excluded from the confederation, a civil war would doubtless be imminent. The many elements of destruction in the country—the wide spread of an irreligious and revolutionary spirit in Protestant, and even in some parts and classes of Catholic Germany, we have already had occasion to point out. But come the worse, we think not that the German revolution is destined to pursue the same destructive career as in France sixty years ago; for the better principles at work in Catholic Germany, that has long been undergoing a process of renovation, will, we trust, arrest the progress of the revolutionary malady. On all, doubtless, that appertains to the future, it behoves weak mortals to speak with modesty and distrust, and not attempt rashly to pierce beyond that mysterious veil which Providence hath wisely hung over coming events. But all things considered, the revolution, if it be destined to break out, will, we think, most probably take the same course as in Switzerland, though on a vaster scale, and with more violence. We mean, that of a prolonged national conflict and disastrous civil war, accompanied with dreadful anarchical excesses, wherever it may happen to triumph. Such, too, was the opinion of the illustrious Görres, long ere the occurrence of the events of March, 1848.

But if such be the fears that the state of Germany naturally suggests, what are the hopes that its situation inspires? These hopes, in our opinion, rest on three great facts:—

1. The first is, the revival of faith and piety in the Catholic portions of that great country, and the strong conservative reaction which recent events have produced, not only there, but in the Protestant districts, where even a better religious spirit begins to dawn. This matter has, as far as our limits permitted, been already established.

2. The second fact is, the inherent indestructibleness of monarchy, owing to its intrinsic excellence, its antiquity, its universality, its natural evolution from domestic society, and its adoption and consecration in the divine constitution of the Catholic Church. To this we may

add, the utter weakness and instability of all republics, even in antiquity, where they were but oligarchies, for the great bulk of the population had no share of power; and especially the perfect impracticability of that form of government in large Christian states, since our divine religion has emancipated the masses from servitude.

3. The next fact on which we repose our hopes is, the strong reaction of public opinion in France, and the rapid progress which religious and conservative principles are making in France. On this subject we beg leave to solicit for a moment the attention of the reader. Unparalleled, perhaps, in history, is the spectacle which that country has exhibited for the last year. A monarchy founded on revolution, lending but a feeble countenance to the church, whose most equitable demands it had in violation of sworn pledges refused—distrusted, when not combated, by the aristocracy—possessing little hold on the feelings and affections of the people, and reckoning only on the zealous support of a portion of the middle classes;—that monarchy was overturned in a single night by a rebellion of the rabble of the metropolis. Here the great Nemesis of history achieved her task. They who “had sown the winds, must reap the tempest.” They who had risen by revolt, must perish by revolt.*

The victorious populace proclaimed a republic; but even the republican leaders were taken by surprise—surprise at their own success—surprise at many of the associates who claimed the fruits of victory, and sought their share of power. For in the abyss of revolution there was a lower deep still; and in the bosom of anarchy an anarchy yet more chaotic. A party had been silently growing up among the artisans of the capital and great provincial cities, who, nurtured in vice and irreligion, irritated by want, and inflamed by profligate demagogues, now rose up to demand the abolition of all religion, property, and the family itself. Hence two parties—the

* We beg to refer the reader to an article in this Journal, entitled “The Religious and Social Condition of France,” that appeared in 1844, in which we showed how the Revolution of 1830 had belied all its promises, and that the only object it accomplished was the exclusion of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon from the throne. But this exclusion we stated was not likely to be permanent. Events seem destined to realize this prediction.

atheistic communists, whom we have just described; and the republicans, who, though for the most part devoid of religious belief, were yet willing to respect the existence of religion, civil order, property, and the family—contended for empire, and filled the new republic with their fierce contests. The provisional government itself, distracted by the same divisions which agitated the revolutionary party, strove alternately to irritate and appease popular passions. Yet, as we may easily imagine, the more violent faction, though weaker in point of number, still, from its greater boldness and consistency, was able to carry out its mischievous purposes. Jacobinical commissaries, as in 1793, filled the land with terror; clubs, like a net-work, overspread the stupefied provinces; an incendiary press and seditious placards goaded the populace of the capital to frenzy; while the equivocal language of one portion of the cabinet, and the perfidious conduct of the other, complicated the foreign relations of the state, and perilled the peace of Europe. The unconditional right of labour to employment by the state, was openly proclaimed; the wildest and most absurd theories, patronized by a portion of the government, disturbed the relations between master and workman, between capitalist and agent; while profligate, irreligious writers, whose theories of happiness were entirely concentrated in this world, stirred up the jealousy, envy, and hatred of the lower classes against the *high-born and the wealthy*. Hence public credit, already shaken to its centre by the February revolution, was all but prostrated; private fortune was everywhere dilapidated; capital gradually withdrew from the agitated surface of society; and want and misery served to aggravate the general turbulence and confusion.

The assault on the legislative chamber in May, and the bloody insurrection in June, revealed at last to society the abyss on whose verge it stood. In those calamitous days, when the national guards were assailed by the insurgent communists to the cry, "*A bas la Bourgeoisie*," the divine Nemesis avenged the cry, "*A bas les Aristocrates*," to which the fathers and grandfathers of those very national guardsmen had sixty years ago exterminated the noble houses of France. Thus the mighty Hand that rules the world, causes itself sooner or later to be felt; thus doth the Deity visit the sins of men on the third and fourth generation. So, again, was fulfilled the re-

markable prediction that one of the greatest Christian philosophers of our age, Count Maistre, had uttered in the early days of the restoration, to wit,—that the middle classes had alone undeservedly profited by the revolution of 1789; but that their day of reckoning would not fail to come.* Happily for the cause of liberty and civilization, General Cavaignac achieved a signal victory over the insurgent communists—a triumph, alas! sealed by the blood of an illustrious archbishop. The wretched government that had so long paltered with the revolution, was overturned; and the national guards, who from the most distant parts had flown to the succour of the capital, quitted it after their victory, only regretting that they had left the republic behind them. Henceforward the reaction in public opinion became every day stronger; the measures of repression against anarchy, whether by interdiction of its clubs or by prosecution of its press, were all but universally approved; the wavering, uncertain majority in the national assembly sank more and more in public estimation; and all the elections subsequently to May of last year have been to the advantage of the conservative party. The provinces have felt their strength, and have resolved to throw off the corrupt and debasing yoke of the capital. The emancipation of the “Commune” is now the cry that resounds through the length and breadth of the land; and the “Conseils des Départemens” have taken a more prominent part in political concerns.

The Parliamentary Association of the Rue de Poitiers has also exerted the most beneficial influence on public affairs. This Association unites against the banded foes of human society all the elements of conservatism to be found in France; and the names of four of its leading members, Berryer, Montalembert, Molé, and Thiers, represent the four great Parliamentary Parties, the Legitimists, the Catholic Party, the Orleanist Conservatives, and the Dynastic Liberals, that played so important a part under Louis Philippe. To these we must add the better sort of Buonapartists. The agreement of these Parties is not confined to a mere negative opposition to the principles of the Jacobins and Socialists. On the great

* In his unpublished letters, to which a writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has recently made allusion. See *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, January, 1849, p. 73.

questions of freedom of the Church, freedom of education, municipal liberty, and provincial emancipation, M. Berryer has long been united with the Count de Montalembert; and that such is the feeling of the Legitimists, is proved by the warm support which the bulk of them have for many years given to the efforts of the Catholic Party, as well as by a recent solemn declaration of all the editors of Legitimist Journals, whether in the capital or the Provinces. Count Molé has long been a sincere Catholic, and if under the Monarchy he upheld the University Monopoly, we cannot doubt that in this respect his opinions have undergone the same salutary change as those of M. Guizot, in whose general political views he concurs. What are now M. Guizot's sentiments on the great questions we have adverted to, his masterly pamphlet, entitled "*La Démocratie en France*," may inform the reader.

But these three parties—respectively headed by M. Berryer, Count Montalembert, and Count Molé—though at variance on some important points, were yet agreed on all the great fundamental questions, where the interests of religion and social order were involved. But the most important acquisition to the cause of order is that of the party led by M. Thiers, and represented by the "*Constitutionnel*." What a mighty change has come over this Journal, once so hostile to religion, and which now on every occasion speaks with so much respect of the Church and her ministers! *Nothing can be more generous than its sympathy for the exiled pope, and its indignant comments upon the proceedings of the anarchists of Rome and Florence.* Again, look to the extraordinary phenomenon presented by M. Thiers himself! This statesman was *long the living impersonation of the godless, anti-monarchical bourgeoisie of 1792*: but the lurid lightnings in the storm of February revealed to him the abyss that was yawning at his feet. He recoiled with horror, and is now making honourable amends for past error. He takes a leading part in the committee of the Rue de Poitiers, and on the subjects of freedom of the Church, and freedom of education, has shown himself by public pledges prepared to make the greatest concessions to the Catholic clergy."

* *This gentleman is still an unbeliever; but his mind appears to be in a state of wholesome fermentation, and we have especial*

In the midst of this great reaction of public feeling, and this reconciliation and reconstruction of political parties the election of the 10th of December took place. In default of a better name, (for no prince of the House of Bourbon or Orleans could aspire to the presidency without compromising royalty,) the long-suffering people turned in their agony to the nephew of that great emperor, who forty years before had put down anarchy, and re-established order and religion. M. Louis Buonaparte, whom some foolish adventures had previously brought into discredit, suddenly won the hearts of all the friends of the Church and of true liberty by his excellent manifesto. To that manifesto he has since his accession to power faithfully adhered; he has judiciously followed the counsels of the distinguished leaders of the Rue de Poitiers; and beset as he has been by difficulties of every kind—having to face the violence of the red republicans, the hostility of the larger portion of the national assembly, and the intrigues and importunities of the ambitious and radical members of his own family—he has displayed no ordinary degree of firmness and sagacity. His ministers, whom he has selected from the different shades of conservatives, have courageously resisted the enemies of social order, repressed the efforts of anarchy, restored by degrees public confidence, and promoted the revival of trade and industry. The mighty task of consolidating order and freedom, correcting vicious legislation, and reorganizing the institutions of the country, must be reserved for the assembly, which at the moment we write is about to be elected, and which, it is supposed, will be the most conservative that France has beheld since the Chamber of Deputies of 1824. When the Church shall have been liberated, education purified and freed from an odious monopoly, institutions for bettering the moral and material condition of the lower classes established on a large scale, and the languishing provinces revived by the principle of self-government, royalty will probably be called in to crown the work of social renovation. For, without wishing to uplift the mysterious veil that overhangs the future, we think it not improbable that, on the expiration of the presidency of M. Louis Buonaparte, the impatient desires of a long-suffering people will call

reasons for strongly recommending him to the prayers of our Catholic readers.

the amiable and accomplished descendant of Henry IV. to the throne of his fathers.

Such, after the fearful convulsion of February, has been the gradual return to a sounder state of political feeling in France*—a return that has been marked by the simultaneous revival of the religious spirit. But in other countries, also, we see the same cheering symptoms of a wise and wholesome reaction in public opinion. In Spain, so long convulsed by revolution, religion is striking fresh roots, and order and constitutional liberty are being slowly consolidated. In Italy, where the party of destruction had artfully intertwined itself with the generous feelings of nationality, the revolution has, in most of the states, been happily as quickly extinguished as it was enkindled. In short, in all the countries of Europe, not excepting our own, we see the gradual restoration of tranquillity, a return to sounder political views, the reawakening of public confidence, and the revival of commerce.

We ask, Is Germany alone destined to be an exception to this more hopeful state of things,—for more we cannot call it, as the danger is not yet over? Is she alone, amid reviving quiet, to be the theatre of civil war and political confusion? Possibly, for she has an immense debt to divine justice still unpaid. Yet judging by analogies, and looking to the mighty change that has come over public opinion in Germany, we think that, in despite of all the perils of her situation, her social difficulties admit of a pacific solution.

Since the above was written, serious troubles have broken out in different parts of Germany. The new imperial constitution has turned out to be what we predicted, a fatal apple of discord. Many excellent, but short-sighted men, looking merely to the advantages offered by the constitution, but blind to its capital defects, have stood up for it as the palladium of their rights. The republicans, on the other hand, have employed it as a pretext for the

* The Baron D'Eckstein, who, after the election of Prince Louis Buonaparte, traversed all the provinces of France, declared that that election was due far more to a conservative instinct, than to any enthusiasm for the memory of Buonaparte. He declared it to be his conviction, that the French were now the most anti-republican people in Europe. See the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for Dec. 1848.

accomplishment of their nefarious projects. Under the plea of this constitution, a bloody insurrection, which had most extensive ramifications, and was directed chiefly by communists, broke out in Dresden, and was put down only with the greatest difficulty. Baden, the Palatinate, parts of Rhenish Prussia, and Westphalia are in a state of revolutionary ferment, and formidable revolts have burst out in several of their cities. Yet in Westphalia and the Rhenish Province the movement (as we are assured on high authority) is purely Protestant, and the Catholic population is tranquil.

One of the most alarming symptoms in the recent commotions of Germany, is the disloyalty of a portion of the Baden troops. But this is only an exception. If doubts existed a year ago as to the loyalty of the troops belonging to the south-western states of Germany, those doubts have since been dispelled by the noble and courageous conduct evinced by those troops under the most trying circumstances. In Germany, as well as in Austria, military valour and fidelity have saved social order.

The extremes of error often lead to truth, and the extravagancies of socialism serve to protect monarchy. Of this a remarkable instance was afforded in the recent insurrection at Leipzig. The inhabitants of that city, like most Saxons, are animated with a very revolutionary spirit; but when they saw that the red republic hoisted its colours, and that socialism wished to render the political movement subservient to its own ends, they recoiled with horror, raised the cry of "Long live the king!" and demanded the aid of Prussian troops.

Happily for the cause of religion and civilization, order and freedom, the larger states of Germany are united in rejecting the revolutionary constitution of Frankfort, as well as agreed upon the points in which it should be amended;* and even those smaller states which have adhered to it, will not permit it to be imposed by force. Prussia has just followed the example of Austria, and recalled her deputies from Frankfort; and most of the other governments are prepared to do the same. The conservative deputies belonging to all parts of Germany are

* The Protest against the Frankfort Constitution sent in by the Bavarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, is one of the most masterly state papers we ever perused.

rapidly quitting the assembly; and nought but a revolutionary rump parliament will soon be left in the Paul's Church. Here ends the first act of the revolutionary drama; and we may let the curtain drop.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*The Art of Illumination and useful Painting.* A Guide to Modern Illuminators, illustrated by a series of specimens, and accompanied by a set of outlines to be coloured by the Student. By NOEL HUMPHREYS. London: Bohn, 1849.

WE had almost given up the idea of attempting to convey to our readers any idea of this beautiful little volume, so much of its practical value, as well as of its artistic charm, is lost by the impossibility of copying the exquisite illustrations by which it is accompanied. The publication, however, is in itself so interesting, as well as so characteristic of the times, that we cannot bring ourselves to overlook it altogether.

Mr. Humphreys is so well known to amateurs in the Art of Illumination, that it is unnecessary for us to introduce him; nor do we allude to his name with any other view than that of recalling to recollection the share which he has had in several of our most magnificent specimens of modern illumination. If it is gratifying to believe that the progress of the taste for this most beautiful and interesting art has been such as to justify the publication of a copious and expensive grammar of its principles and practice, it is still more agreeable to know that its composition has fallen into the hands of an author whose learning, judgment, and taste, as well as various experience and artistic skill, have eminently fitted him for the task.

The volume now before us is but one of a series which Mr. Humphreys contemplates. It is of a character just suited to the requirements, being brief and practical, and illustrated, not only with actual specimens of the ancient art, which it is intended to revive, but also with outlines and sketches of appropriate designs to be filled up in

colour by the student, according to the principles explained in the work.

Into the details of these principles it is, of course, impossible for us to enter here. The general plan of the work consists in placing before the student specimens of each of the successive styles of illumination, with a brief description, explaining their leading characters, and a practical exposition both of the principles which predominate in each, and of the modifications or improvements which the progress of modern art may suggest. In this way he runs through the leading styles of the several periods, beginning with the Irish or Anglo-Hibernian, the earliest of them all, and coming down through the Franco-Gallic, the Byzantine, the *Opus Anglicum* of the tenth century, the rich gothic of the thirteenth, the still more florid gothic of the fourteenth, the elegant style introduced by Giulio Clovio and Lucas von Leyden, and the more classic styles of Italy, as far down as the sixteenth century. Each of the styles is illustrated by a select specimen, and upon these the utmost care and labour appear to have been expended. The specimen from the *Hour-book of Anne of Brittany* (p. 55,) is among the most beautiful samples of the illuminative art, and the page from the Bible in the Soane Museum (p. 64,) illustrating the six days of creation, is perhaps the most characteristic example of early Christian art, as developed in miniature, which has come to our time.

But, as it would be idle to hope to give an idea of the illustrations of the work by any description, we shall rather transcribe one or two passages which may furnish materials for an estimate of its general value. Perhaps the most interesting for our readers, will be the description of the earliest style, that known as the Irish, or Anglo-Hibernian.

“During the first period, the only style I shall treat of in detail, is the style generally known as the early *Anglo-Saxon*, but which may more properly be called *Irish*, or, as practised in *England*, *Anglo-Hibernian*. It appears to have arisen in *Ireland* about the sixth or seventh centuries, and to have been introduced to *England* about the end of the latter epoch. As a specimen of this style I have selected a page from the Gospels of *Maelbrigid Mac Durnan*, a beautiful MS. preserved in the palace of *Lambeth*.

“It is now a well established fact that Christianity was introduced into *Ireland* as early, if not earlier, than the third century, and

that in the sixth century *St. Columba* or *Columbkil*, who was born A.D. 521, and studied in the school of *Finnian*, in which there are said to have been 3000 scholars, founded the monastery of *Iona*, from which, according to *Bede*, many religious houses were established by his followers. The life of *St. Columba*, by his follower *Adamnan* (also honourably mentioned by *Bede*), is one of the most interesting biographical remains of the period. The sepulchral cross of *Adamnan* is still visible on the hill of *Tara*.

"*Gallus*, an *Irish* monk, probably from this convent, established in *Switzerland* the Monastery, which, with the Canton in which it is situated, still bears his name, and where MSS. enriched in the peculiar style of *Irish* art, are still preserved; and religious houses and schools were also established in other parts of *Europe*, where, as at *St. Gall*, MSS. and other relics of their foundation are still preserved.

"*Aidan*, another monk of *Iona*, established the bishopric of *Lindisfarne*, in the North of *England*, about 635, where the famous MS. known as the "*Durham book*," a most splendid MS. of the same style as our present specimen, was executed about the year 698, which proves that this style of art was thus imported from *Ireland*. In *England* it soon became modified by *Frankish* features, obtained from models contained in certain MSS. brought from the Continent. But it was far from being absorbed, and even crossing the Channel, it appeared modifying and varying many examples of the *Franco-Gallic* style of the period of *Charlemagne*. In *Ireland* however, and part of *Wales*, it was practised in nearly its original completeness, and without admixture of other styles as late as the twelfth century.

"The book from which my specimen is taken, is one of the most remarkable MSS. of the Archiepiscopal library of *Lambeth* palace. It appears from an inscription it contains, to have been written for, or to have been in possession of *Mælbrigid Mac Durnan*, that is *Mælbrigid* the son of *Durnan*, who was Abbot of *Derry* and Bishop of *Armagh* in the ninth century, being promoted to the see of the latter place A. D. 885. He lived to a great age, and died early in the tenth century, A. D. 927. The book was presented to the metropolis of *Canterbury* by *Athelstan*, as described in an inscription written in *Anglo-Saxon* characters, which has been translated as follows: '*Mælbrith* the son of *Durnan* does worthily expound this text by the assistance of the *Trinity*, but *Athelstan* King and Ruler of the *Anglo-Saxons*, makes a present of the book to the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury* for ever.'

"The coronation of *Athelstan* took place in the year 925, which makes it appear probable that this book was a present to him from *Mælbrigid*, on the occasion of his coronation. It appears from various records to have remained at *Canterbury* till the dissolution of the Monasteries; but how it came to the *Lambeth* collection is not known, and it is somewhat strange that it is not

mentioned in Mr. *Todd's* catalogue of that collection made in 1812. It is an exceedingly interesting specimen of the style, representing as it were in miniature, the manner and intricacy of the gigantic initials of the *Durham* book and the book of *Kells*. The plan of the ornament is, a framework to the page, divided into separate compartments, each filled with patterns of great intricacy. The larger compartments are filled with fanciful animals, whose lengthened and attenuated members are made to interweave with a thread in a most laborious and ingenious manner, and this device, generally on a black ground, forms the principal feature in this style of illumination. The smaller compartments are filled by patterns formed by white lines upon a black ground, varied in some instances by black lines on a white ground, forming rectangular patterns of figures similar to portions of *Chinese* ornament; indeed, it may be remarked that the ornamental works of all nations, in an early stage of decorative art (beyond which the stationary *Chinese* have not yet advanced,) have a certain similarity; the same leading features being found in *Hindoo* works, and even in the *Mexican* remains of *Central America*.

"The beautifully designed P which commences the writing contained in this page is a very fine example of its style, and is peculiar in its form; the lower portion or tail curving round, and forming itself into a circular ornament in a very graceful manner; its colouring is exceedingly simple, the main lines being black, which brings it well into connexion with the smaller letters of the words that follow, commencing the 18th verse of the 1st chapter of *Matthew*. The whole passage contained in the page reads *Xpi autem Generatio sic erat* (now the birth of *Christ* was on this wise.) The following page (in the MS.) is written in the common handwriting of the volume, and has no ornament except the first capital, one of ordinary size, coloured pink."—pp. 7—12.

The concluding paragraph is well worthy of a place in our pages.

"I have now described a series of specimens, exhibiting some of the principal styles which have been evolved in the beautiful art of illumination, from the sixth to the sixteenth century. During a thousand years, a race of artists who devoted their talents almost exclusively to the art of book decoration, must, necessarily, have produced models of great excellence. The specimens in this volume are amply sufficient to establish this position; recent art of the same class, during the eighteenth century, and the elapsed portion of the nineteenth, has produced nothing comparable. In fact, that period has been lamentably deficient in every branch of the fine arts; and yet I would not recommend servilely following the exquisite models bequeathed to us; but only that the student should inspire himself to rivalry by their study, and not only equal them, but surpass them. For he is in a position to do so. Various

new branches of knowledge are at his command ; a wider range of beautiful natural objects, for which the world has been ransacked during the last century, surround him with models of exquisite novelty of form, of gorgeous and unprecedented combinations of colour, and intricate and surprising structure. Such objects, both of the animal and vegetable empires, afford opportunities for effects and combinations never within the reach of the mediæval illuminator. With these aids, and the great additional facilities afforded by the more perfect mechanism of art, now so thoroughly understood, the modern student cannot, with due energy and exertion, fail to surpass his predecessors. But it is a branch of art which, to be carried to high perfection, must be studied *con amore* ; and if he aspires to more than decorative calligraphy, and aims at pictorial decoration, much and various knowledge must be brought to bear upon its successful treatment. He must be acquainted with Botany, and also possess a knowledge of what may be termed the poetry of flowers, that is to say, their association, their symbolism, and their properties. Entomology, too, with its train of glittering flies, and painted caterpillars ; those gorgeous worms, that in the tropics shine like creeping jewels, must have formed one of his pursuits. In short, Natural History in general, and the associations and emblematic character of various substances, plants, and animals, must form a portion of the education of an illuminator. He must thoroughly understand the laws of colours, and also their symbolism, and above all, he must possess a thorough knowledge of the history of decorative art in all ages. All this, and more, is necessary to complete the acquirements of an accomplished illuminator. He must be a poet too, in feeling, if not literally, and he must be familiar with the most beautiful fancies of the poets of all ages. In legendary lore he must be an adept, and the exquisite dreamings of fairy-land must have filled his fancy. To treat sacred subjects, he must be familiar with all the symbolism of early Christianity, and the legends of its early martyrs. To treat poetic subjects, he must know the song of the Troubadour and Trouvere, and the metrical and prose Romances of the age of Chivalry must have been a favourite study. He must delight in researches connected with the costumes, the weapons, and the armour of all ages ; and the history and practice of art in all its departments must fill his happiest thoughts, and occupy his sweetest leisure. The massive monuments of architecture, the immortalized marble of the sculptor, the breathing canvas of the *Raphaels* and *Correggios*, must have fed his greedy taste and formed the high standard of his artistic dream of excellence ; and then, so prepared, and with the aid of assiduous application, the illuminator may lift his art to the high position which legitimately belongs to it ; but which the poor productions of the last century and a half have tended so greatly to lower ; reducing that which should

be an exquisite art, to routine of the most vulgar mechanism."—pp. 63, 64.

We shall only add our earnest hope that the success of this expensive and enterprising experiment may be such as to warrant the completion of Mr. Humphrey's projected series.

II.—*Ritus servandus in Expositione et Benedictione SS. Sacramenti*. 4to. Londini : Richardson et Filii, 1849.

We are tempted to introduce this publication in connexion with that of Mr. Humphreys, because, although not an illuminated book, it, nevertheless, belongs to the department of ornamental typography, and especially in its application to the public services of the church. The *Ritus servandus in Expositione SS. Sacramenti* is by far the handsomest and most sumptuous specimen of Church Service Books that has yet been issued from the Catholic press in this country, and we regard it as a very favourable omen of the success of a far more expensive and elaborate publication contemplated by the same enterprising publishers ;—an illuminated Church Missal, combining all the elegancies and improvements of modern typography, with the richness and significancy of the ancient art of illumination. The undertaking, it cannot be denied, is a hazardous one, but we trust there is spirit and taste enough in the present generation to insure it success.

III.—*The Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, Duchess of Thuringia*, by the COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT, Peer of France. Translated by Mary Hackett, late a pupil of the Ursulines, St. Mary's Convent, Waterford. Dublin : James Duffy. Clonmel : J. Hackett.

The merits of the original work, of which this is a translation, have been already made known to the readers of the Dublin Review. It is not therefore necessary to repeat the praises that have been bestowed upon it. All that we have to do with at present, is the translation now upon our table. The translator of such a work as Montalembert's *St. Elizabeth*, must not only be imbued with the spirit of the author, but must feel like him a deep veneration and ardent love for the saint, whose merits are portrayed, and whose great virtues are described. If the translator fail in faith, his work will seem to be an imperfect version of the original, no matter what amount

of talent, or of knowledge, may be brought to its accomplishment. The charm of Miss Hackett's translation is, that the reader feels as if he were perusing an original work—it impresses itself on the mind and the heart, as the appeal made to him by one who records nothing but what is known to be a fact, and who is swayed with the deep conviction, that all that is stated should induce the reader to be animated with the same tender sentiments towards the Christian heroine as the author and translator, and, like them, to invoke her aid and intercession as "*the dear Saint Elizabeth.*"

Miss Hackett has brought to her task the true, firm, unshrinking, and unabashed faith, of an Irish Catholic—a faith which sets at equal defiance the sneer of infidelity and the scorn of heresy—that is prepared alike to defy them in this day, as in the days that are passed away, it defied the sword and the torch of the persecutor. This greatest and most necessary gift in the writer of the life of a saint, Miss Hackett possesses, and with this she could not fail in making the work as dignifying in English as it is in the original; but she has not only had her task inspired by faith, but she has also brought to it the accomplishments of a thoroughly well educated lady, and therefore presented to the public, one of the most charming pieces of biography that has been produced in the English language for many years. In the life of St. Elizabeth, we have a more correct and accurate picture than is to be found in any other book in the *English language*, "of the Manners and Customs of society, when the power of the church and of chivalry was at its height." Regarded in this point of view, it will be found that, independent of the life of the saint, an historical value is to be attached to a work to the completion and perfection of which the Count de Montalembert devoted many years of his life. Miss Hackett's translation is a valuable addition to our literature; and it will aid to fill up a space that has been left too long vacant—that is, of books which are at the same time suited for the perusal of the old and the young—teaching them alike the history of the past, and placing before them models of virtue, that, with the grace of God, they may hope to imitate.

IV.—*Modern Saints. Lives of the Ven. Father Claver and Cardinal Odescalchi.** London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1848.

The life of Father Claver is, if possible, more strikingly wonderful than those which have preceded it. When the daily course of his life, as here described, is attentively considered, it would seem almost impossible to conceive a more heroic missionary, or a saint inspiring more astonishment and awe. A voluntary exile from his own country; for forty long years he lived as the servant of the poor negro slaves at Cartagena, amidst perpetual and superhuman mortifications and labours. To that burning and most inhospitable region, where gold was obtained by the toil of thousands of slaves annually imported, the young Jesuit was sent from Spain early in the seventeenth century. He watched for the arrival of the slave ships, baptized and instructed the poor negroes by hundreds and thousands, and regardless of the filth and disease of the unfortunate creatures, attended with heroic charity to their every want, daily rendering services at the mere recital of which ordinary men would shudder. This was his dearest occupation, but his charity was so ardent that he attended to all classes in the state, his labours seeming to know no limit, but to be extended far beyond the unassisted powers of his nature. Indeed, he converted Cartagena, and, as was commonly believed, averted from that guilty city the punishments of God. And wonderful to relate, all these labours were performed amidst incredible austerities. Never under that burning sun did he eat or drink except at meals, and then he ever observed a most rigid abstinence. He daily wore hair shirts and instruments of penance of the most terrible description, and attained to a most extraordinary mortification of his senses, and especially the eyes; and above all, he was possessed, in an admirable degree, of the sublime virtues of humility, poverty, chastity, and obedience. So many merits God was pleased to reward and honour by the gift of miracles, and the privilege of incorruptibility after death, and now we only want the sanction of the church

* The protestation of submission to the judgment of the Church, which is required by Pope Urban VIII., to be prefixed to all accounts of the lives or miracles of those not yet canonized, and is inserted in the present volume, is hereby extended to this and all similar notices in this Review.

before we venerate him as the apostle of the Western, as St. Francis Xavier was of the Eastern Indies. The other great servant of God, whose religious life is given in this volume, is Cardinal Odescalchi. He was a prince of the Church, beloved and esteemed by Pope Gregory XVI., and distinguished by his many eminent services to the Church of Christ. But from his earliest youth he had ever sighed for the mortified life of the Society of Jesus, and when the requisite permission was granted to his prayers, he resigned with joy all his honours, and became a distinguished model to his religious brethren of every christian virtue. The lives of these two holy men are full of the greatest interest and edification.

V.—*The Wonderful Book, or Tales for the Merry, Stories for the Studious, and Marvels for the Morose.* A collection of Arabian Tales, now first published in the English Language. Edited by Belinda McCabe. Dublin, James Duffy, 1849.

We are informed by the editor of this little work, that these stories are genuine, that the learned and excellent Dr. Madden has himself heard them related in the East, and that they were collected and brought over by a friend of his, and published first in Paris under the title of *Contes du Cheykh el Mohdy*, by M. Marul. They are now given to the English public in an easy, simple, and somewhat quaint style, which is perfectly suitable. In the genuineness of these tales their chief merit consists; they have not the wonders, the variety, and the florid imagination, displayed in the *Arabian Nights*: but they have a great air of truth, and many remarkable traits of the manners and feelings of the East give interest to these simple stories, and make us desire their continuance. They are far too curious to be lost.

VI.—*Epitome of Alison's History of Europe, from the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons.* For the use of Schools and young Persons. Second edition. Edinburgh and London, Blackwood and Sons, 1849.

It would be out of place, in noticing this *Epitome*, to discuss the soundness or justice of Mr. Alison's general views of European History since the French Revolution. With most of these views, except, perhaps, in their occasionally excessive nationality, we cordially sympathise, though there are many others, and those not the least important,

from which we strongly dissent. But considering the Epitome, not upon its own absolute merits, but as a compendious manual of the history of the time, we regard it as an eminently useful and valuable book. It is, of course, in the judiciousness of the practical arrangement, the clearness and good order of the narrative, the selection of the really important facts, and of the really distinctive features of the prominent characters of the time, that the value of such a work must consist; and in these particulars the compendium of Alison will be found, not only in itself a most satisfactory history, but also a very useful supplement even to the most complete and comprehensive histories of the period.

We should add that its indexes, chronological tables, summaries of events, and other mechanical appliances, the value of which a student alone can fully appreciate, render it one of the most complete and convenient books of reference with which we are acquainted.

VII.—*Popular Library of Instruction and Amusement*. Post 8vo. Vols. I.—VI. New York: Dunigan, 1848-9.

A very neat and tasteful republication, for American circulation, of the Tales of Canon Schmid, which have attained so much popularity in this country.

VIII.—1. *Method and Advantages of Withdrawing the Soul from Creatures*. Translated by Dr. CHALLONER. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

2.—*Devotions of the Scapular of the Passion*. By the REV. S. GRIMLEY. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Two most excellent little treatises, executed with all the neatness and accuracy which have so long characterised the Derby Press.

IX.—*The Popular Works of Johann Gottlieb Fichte*, translated from the German, with a memoir of the author, by WILLIAM SMITH, 2 vols., 8vo. London: John Chapman, 1849.

We cannot say that we regard the publication of the works of the great Transcendentalist, or the attempt to disseminate his principles in England, with any serious interest, either of hope or of fear. The most "popular" of Fichte's *Popular Works* can never, we have always felt assured, hope for popularity among the thinkers of Eng-

land, and if any confirmation of our assurance were wanting, we will venture to assert that it would be furnished by almost any single page opened at random in the two massive, but most dim and misty, volumes before us.

X.—*The Life of St. Ignatius Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits*, vol. 2. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1849.

In our last publication we were enabled to announce that the design which had been entertained of discontinuing this admirable series was finally abandoned. Since the resumption of their task, the editors have not been idle. The volume now before us completes the life of St. Ignatius ; a fourth volume of the life of St. Alphonsus Liguori is on the eve of publication, and, what gratifies us almost more than all the rest, the long promised translation of Benedict XIV., on "Heroic Virtue," has been commenced in good earnest.

We have expressed so often our opinion of the value of these publications, that it would be idle to repeat it here ; and it is a very gratifying evidence of the estimate formed of them by the public, that, of the first large edition, several volumes have been already exhausted, and a second edition is now in progress.

XI.—*A Popular Natural History of Quadrupeds and Birds*. By WILLIAM DOWLING. London : Burns, 1849.

Another of Mr. Burns's beautiful books for the young, and, if we are not greatly mistaken, very likely to be among the most popular. The subject, in itself so interesting, is treated just in the way which at once fixes the attention of a child, interests his fancy, seizes on his memory, and develops his powers of apprehension. The illustrations, it is hardly necessary to add in speaking of a publication of Mr. Burns's, are beyond all praise.

XII.—1. *Zenosius; or, the Pilgrim Convert*. By the REV. C. C. PISE, D.D. (Dunigan's Home Library.) New York; Dunigan. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby, 1849.

2.—*Jessie Linden; or the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy*. New York : Dunigan. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby, 1849.

3.—*Felix; or the Christian's Revenge*. London : Richardson and Son, 1849.

4.—*The Cake, and other Tales, from the German.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1849.

5.—*The Downfall of a Teetotaler.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1849.

We have classed together these interesting and instructive little books, as a gratifying evidence that the taste for useful Catholic literature, even in its lighter branches, is steadily progressing upon both sides of the Atlantic. Some of them are old acquaintances under a new form ; but intended, as they all are, for the instruction and amusement of youth, they are all equally deserving of a cordial welcome.

XIII.—*The Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated*, by FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK, Bishop of Philadelphia. Third edition. New York : E. Dunigan and Brother, 1848. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby.

We are happy to see a new edition of Dr. Kenrick's well-known work on the supremacy of the Pope. We recommend it to all our readers as an admirable exposition and defence of the rights, privileges, and conduct of the Holy See ; and most especially we recommend it to those who rest not on that chosen rock, and yet are seeking to build the Church ; who are cut off from that true vine, and yet think to draw from it its heavenly nourishment. In very truth, the mere sight of that glorious tree of life, full of vigour and heavenly energy, standing alone amidst the dead and withered branches that cumber the ground around it, ought to be of itself convincing. But when it is backed by the overwhelming mass of evidence which this book furnishes, it must be hard indeed for the earnest Christian any longer to be blinded to the truth. Dr. Kenrick's work takes in all the points of interest in which the primacy can be viewed ; and the advantage of the present edition is, that it classifies them under three distinct heads. The Spiritual Supremacy, the Secular Relations, and the Literary and Moral Influence of the Holy See, are separately and fully treated, and nothing seems to be wanting to make the work a complete exposition of this important subject.

XIV.—*The Child's Manual of Prayer.* London : Dolman, 1849.

Contains, besides new devotions for Mass and the Sacraments, some beautiful reflections on the virtues of childhood, and prayers for various intentions.

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